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# THE NATIONAL ERA.

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AGENTS

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## WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

## LEONARD WRAY.

### A ROMANCE OF MODERN HISTORY.

*By the author of "The Chronicles of the Bastile," "The Embassy," "The Yule Log," "Philip of Lutetia," &c.*

### CHAPTER VI.

*The Brethren of the Red Republic.*

It is doubtful whether the historian, writing gravely for the enlightenment of posterity, as well as for the edification of his own generation, ever condescends to take account of the thousand and one minor incidents that so largely contribute to bring about the greater events he is recording. He sees only the latter, and these in the gross; and it is sufficient for his purpose that they present themselves to his mind as a whole. He does not stay to inquire what are the instrumentalities which have determined certain results, deeming it beneath the dignity of history to deal with what may be designated as the by-play of the supernumeraries who figure in the great drama of a nation's life. A few leading events and prominent personages are made to stand boldly out from his canvass, like the chief figures grouped in the foreground of a picture; but the determining causes of those events, and the combination of happy and unhappy circumstances which contributed to their consummation, are not frequently shown satisfactorily to those who think as well as read, and who may also desire to know something of the latent sources of national commotions; to become acquainted with the unseen influences which have turned the political scale in favor of a particular individual, or diverted the current of events in the direction of a particular catastrophe.

Yet how useful the lessons that are to be gathered from an attentive examination of the every-day records, the vulgar incidents, of any period of contemporaneous periods of history! How instructive to the philosopher, to trace to its remote source the mighty circumstance on which the fate of a nation has trembled, or which has suddenly decided it! To such an inquirer after truth, the toothache which has seized a politician, and disabled him at a momentous crisis, has an interest in the consequence to which it has led, greater, and is to him an incident of more importance—though disregarded, possibly, by the historian—than the battle that has to be fought and won, or than the public struggle of parties in their fierce conflict for ascendency.

It comes, perhaps, more within the province of a writer of fiction to deal with these minor details, for he addresses a different class of readers. The reader of graver history, like the ordinary spectator at a theatre, cares only to witness the changing of the scene and the consummation of the play; he does not wish to see the humble carpenter's assistants, on whom the shifting devolves, and takes small or no account of them as parties indispensable to the production of a scenic effect, on a scale however grand. But the reader of fiction expects to see the whole machinery in motion—to be made acquainted with the secret of the tricks he knows is to be played upon his credulity, and of the transformations which are to delude his eye-sight; to be introduced personally to the actors and actresses who are to enact parts for his amusement; to see them in their paint, gaud, and tinsel; so that when he meets them some day, in their gray and sober garb of every-day life, he may claim with them more than a passing acquaintanceship.

Nor is it expected that the writer of fiction shall present the events of his narrative with the severest regard to historical accuracy. He is, for the time being, a poet, and, as such, has the tacit consent of his readers to make, for their edification and amusement, the most of the license which is his especial and peculiar privilege. The highest effort of his art is to clothe the creations of his fancy in the garb nearest to verisimilitude, and to cast around homely incidents just such a tinge of romance as shall invest them with increased interest. In the portrayal of the events of his own time, and in his use of those personages who may have played in them the most prominent part, or whom it may serve the purpose of his fiction to place in the first rank, he has to consider less what they positively have done, than what under particular circumstances they might have done. If he have for the groundwork of his narrative a solid basis of facts, and in the public records of his own time, and the rumors and gossip of political and private circles, a warranty for attributing particular occurrences to the effect of certain notorious influences, he satisfies to the utmost all reasonable exigencies of correct taste; and so that his work tend to the advancement of morality, to the development of great political or economic truths, or to the general edification of his fellow-man, he establishes a legitimate claim upon the public gratitude, as a teacher and a moralist, conveying instruction in a form as unexceptionable, for its purpose, as that which properly pertains to the historian. Thus much was necessary to the right understanding of the various events it is our purpose to portray.

Some few days subsequent to the interview of Louis Napoleon with the artist Roussillon, the leaders of the Red Republican faction assembled at the residence of one of their number, who held a seat in the National Assembly, and whom we shall call Fourier. He was a man under forty years of age, and stood above six feet in height, having a frame that indicated the possession of prodigious muscular power. His head, naturally small and round, and set upon a short bull neck and an enormous breadth of shoulder, looked singularly diminutive, from the circumstance of his wearing his hair cut close. His small, clear blue eyes, which twinkled with extraordinary brilliancy, were in constant motion, but their benevolent expression was belied by the scowl that only too frequently darkened his countenance. He wore thick mustaches and a long imperial, in accordance with the prevalent fashion; but these did not serve to conceal his firm, square jaw, or the determined set of his mouth. He spoke with surprising volubility and emphasis, and was evidently regarded as an oracle by his colleagues.

To the right of Fourier sat, with folded arms, a well-known author and poet, who had by turns sung the past glories of the Empire, the praises of the Eighteenth Louis, of the Tenth Charles, of the Citizen King, and of the Republic, but who, amidst all the political changes of the last thirty-five years, had remained faithful only to his vocation of poet. The last Revolution had suddenly inspired him with an ambition to become a legislator; and, favored by his great popularity, he became a candidate, and awoke one morning a duly-elected representative of the people. Fourier addressed him by the familiar name of Victor, by which he appeared to be likewise recognised by their friends.

To Fourier's left was seated one of the most remarkable journalists of the day—a small, dark, sallow-complexioned man, with keen, dark eyes, and who wore his thin, black hair, with a visible affectation of the style of the Emperor Napoleon, a stray lock being allowed to hang down, so as to cover a portion of his forehead. He, too, had become a representative of the people, and, though without any special predilection for the principles of the extreme party on whose side of the Chamber he had taken his seat, was now advocating the fiercest republicanism, in the hope of creating political capital enough to enable him one day to become the chief of the Republican Government. He had a sad and somewhat remorseful expression of countenance, for the blood of a political opponent rested on his head, and he was haunted by the memory of the dreadful deed which had hurried to a premature grave one of the brightest and most fervid advocates of pure republicanism. A brilliant oration over the victim's grave, quite recently delivered; the prominent and decided part he had played at the Thuileries on the 24th of February in that year; the courage with which he had defended the partisans of the Mountain in their contest with the Moderates in the National Assembly; his subsequent imprisonment under martial law, and the temporary suppression of his journal, by command of the Dictator of the Republic, whilst Paris was in a state of siege, had completely won over to him the confidence of the brethren of the Red Republic, who now looked up to him as one of their leading men, whilst he regarded them as convenient instrumentalities for the furtherance of his own ends. He was addressed as Emile de Beauvoisin.

Around these, at a long table, covered with the remnants of an elegant repast, were seated some twenty or thirty other notable individuals, many of whom wore the scarf which indicated their position as representatives of the people in the National Assembly. But they all belonged to the extreme party, the prospects of which in the coming election they were now discussing.

"I repeat it to you, emphatically," said Fourier, "we must fall back upon the traditions of our party, which have come down to us from the days of the old Mountain and the old revolution. Up to this time the Republic is scarcely a fact; it is only an accident. It is our reproach that we are disunited and timid—yes, above all, timid. In the streets, with weapons in our hand, and barricades to fight behind, we are heroes. In the Assembly, we are cowards; for we want the moral courage to stand by one another and defend our principles. What, I ask you, secured to the old Mountain its ascendency in the Constituent? Not its numbers, no! but its union, its resolution, its fidelity to itself, its unbounded confidence in its chiefs, and its stern stoicism, in sacrificing even friends as well as opponents, when the safety and the welfare of the republic demanded it."

"The extreme penalty for political offences was abolished when freedom of political opinion was declared in France," remarked Victor; "thou forgettest that, Citizen Fourier. Times are changed. Opinion has made progress, and it will never again tolerate such a tyranny as that of the guillotine. Thy doctrine is a monstrous one."

"And tell me, pray," retorted Fourier, "whether the janissaries of our republican Dictator are likely to stand true, if the order should be issued for us to be sacrificed? I am not particular about the mode; I only care for the thing. Whether you mow down your political opponents with grape-shot, or get rid of them by the guillotine, is of very little consequence, I think, so they be got rid of. I argue for the principle, no mercy to those who will not show mercy to you. I tell you we must have a new Reign of Terror in France, until we have secured supreme power. Once we have gained that, we may become as moderate as our friend, Citizen Victor, here."

"And I, in turn, repeat to you," Citizen Fourier," retorted Victor, "that your traditions of blood and carnage, of pillage and burning, are atrocious, abominable, and insane. We have enjoyed, as a nation, though under numerous disadvantages, I will allow, a considerable share of liberty; and the aim of republican legislation should be, to consolidate our free institutions, and introduce even larger measures. But, your republicanism is a tyranny of might against right; it is a war against hearth, and home, and family—a sanguinary crusade against property"——

"Ah! ah! Property! Property is robbery—a dead robbery!" shouted a singular-looking man, seated at the lower end of the table.

"Bravo, Baudoin," exclaimed Fourier, exultingly.

"What a farce," resumed the individual called Baudoin, shouting at the very top of his voice; "What a farce for Citizen Victor to stand up in the midst of a company of socialist and republican philosophers, to defend the rights of property! Property is robbery, I repeat, unless all share in it equally. Social republicanism, or, if you like it better, republican socialism, assumes perfect equality, and therefore all property must be in common, or a social republic is impossible."

"I will not stay to discuss that mad theory of thine, Citizen Baudoin," replied Victor, "which will only gain converts amongst those who have nothing, and who seek everything. It is the enunciation of such doctrines as these, as a part of the policy of the Red Republic, that raises enemies against it even in the ranks of those who would be its friends. I will venture upon prophecy so far as to predict that France will never tolerate a system of government founded on a deliberate disregard of all those ties which bind the body politic together. Nay, if France durst—yes, durst—avow herself a convert to so wild a system, Europe would league against her in self-defence, for her civilized nations would have just cause to regard us as a people of brigands. Thou and Citizen Fourier may harangue clubs of desperate men, living in defiance of the laws and of order, and may excite them to frenzy against the middle classes—nay, against all classes; but you will become the Ishmaelites of civilized society—the Cains of true republicanism; and every lover of order will raise his hand against you. What but the insane barbarities of the terrorists to whose traditions you seem to cling with the tenacity of lunatic enthusiasm, what but these involved the old republic in destruction? The nations were horror-stricken, and shrank back from the hand, all bedabbled with the blood of her best citizens, which the France of '93, in her Phrygian cap, extended to them to grasp. But for the spectacle she presented, of unbridled license taking the place of popular liberty; of incarnate Atheism, under the guise of the Goddess of Reason, set up above the altars of our holy faith for the bewildered nation to worship; of the despotism of faction and the guillotine usurping the seate of justice and of national law; but for these, alas—and alas that we should have to record it—Republicanism might now have been the ruling power in Europe! And yet such scenes as these you would again behold enacted, and call that state of things a Republic. No, no! France will have no more of this."

"And what, Citizen Victor," retorted Fourier, "may not the old republicans say of the state of things that led to these barbarities, as you esteem them? Did not the privileged classes set the example, in their day of prosperity? You speak of Atheism, and the Goddess of Reason; but who brought religion into disrepute amongst us? Was it not the obscene debaucheries and rank excesses of the priesthood? Who engendered a contempt for law and order, if not those very classes who, having the power, first made the law, and then boldly outraged it? Who brought Royalty into contempt, if not Royalty itself by its own contempt of public decency and morality. Did it not live in daylight concubinage and adultery? Did it not outrage the sacred ties of family and of private honor? Did it not stoop to clandestine transactions to rob the public exchequer, so that it might get gold to squander upon its favorites and parasites? Did it not over-tax the nation to procure the means of ministering to its own profligacy? Did it not plunge headlong into inglorious wars, which crippled the country's resources, exhausted its energies, and left it at the mercy of the foreigner? Did it respect property? Consult the records of the infernal Bastile. Go read the ordinances of the Bull's-eye Chamber, and then answer me whether property has rights where high-handed despotism—the despotism of Royalty—is turned against it. If Republican France—call her Terrorist France if thou wilt—struck Europe with affright, it was less because France was republican, than because Europe was guilty towards the peoples. For the same reason, at the present time, Europe entertains the same dread of republicanism. She knows that the peoples have a long account to settle with the Royalties; and settle it they will, mark well, sooner or later. It will not be a war of nationalities, but of principles. The peoples of civilization have learnt wisdom. They know and do not distrust one another, but those who govern them. Do those islanders across the Channel mistrust us French citizens, us the people of France? Mad he who believes it; arch-mad he who would attempt to make us believe it! Do you believe that nation across the Atlantic—young in years, but hoar in wisdom—looks with suspicion upon our republicans? Bah! Rulers—selfish rulers—seeking their own ends, striving to outwit and to overreach one another, may set their respective Cabinets by the ears, but the time is gone by for them to make the peoples the tools of their egotistical ambition. And what, I ask you, Citizen Victor, you who are deep read in history, what has taught the peoples this great lesson of knowing one another, and knowing their own strength? Deny if you can that it is the traditions of '93; and by those the Red Republic must abide or fall ignominiously."

"The discussion is getting warm," observed De Beauvoisin; "we must not permit it to proceed too far. But, as free discussion is the order of the day, a little warmth on a subject so exciting is pardonable. I am of Citizen Victor's opinion. Modern republicanism in France is not to be established by anarchy and terrorism, but by an observance of law and order, and a due respect for constituted rights. The safety of republican France rests on the wisdom of her rulers at the outset of her new career. She has yet to gain the confidence of foreign Powers; their respect she can at any time command; she is sufficiently strong for that. But, in order that France may gain the confidence of the world, is it necessary she should plunge headlong into anarchy? The only way is for her to strengthen herself internally, by gathering around her the interests of the country. If she commence by a violation of the rights of property—at which I perceive our brother, Citizen Baudoin, laughs—what guarantee have the nations of Europe that she will have more respect for the integrity of foreign territories than she has for the rights of private property? I say, and I maintain, that Citizen Baudoin is in the wrong. The acceptance of his doctrine regarding property involves nothing short of a re-partition of the whole earth amongst its inhabitants, and a reduction of civilized peoples to a condition below that of savages."

"Oh, oh! Citizen de Beauvoisin is calumniating civilization," shouted Baudoin.

"Don't talk about civilization," resumed Beauvoisin. "Thy doctrine, Citizen Baudoin, which to thee is the perfection of civilization, is simply a theory of universal brigandage. I say that even savages respect the rights of property which they have once recognised, and yet thou wouldst make civilized France less scrupulous than men living in a state of nature. If, in saying thus much, I calumniate civilization, thy doctrine about property involves a gross calumniation of the social and democratic Republic, as I understand it. The great idea which has to be developed, is not less that of the common interest of peoples than of the unity of a nation. The basis of that common interest is respect for individual rights, for order, and for good government."

"Popular government," exclaimed Fourier.

"Of course," replied De Beauvoisin; "and the problem we have to solve is how to secure a popular government—one that shall not only possess the confidence of the nation, but secure that of foreign Powers. I doubt our success, so long as we are divided upon questions such as those which Citizens Fourier and Baudoin have raised. I say, the nation will not respond to those mad theories, still less submit to be governed by them, or by their advocates. Let us have republicanism, red, white, or tri-color; as much as you please; but let it be a republicanism that does not outrage common sense."

"And what dost thou call popular government?" asked Baudoin, rising to his feet, and adjusting the scarf which denoted his position in the National Assembly. "Is is that of the hour? Once for all, let it be known that for nearly sixty-five years France has not enjoyed five years of national existence, properly speaking. She only lived, of her own life, from the 24th of January, 1789, when the States General were convened, to the 31st of May, 1793, when the Girondists were expelled. During that brief period, the nation subordinated power to herself; divided and reduced it within limits; implanted local and individual liberties; and, if she did not accomplish everything she strived for—far from it, unhappily—she brought out a vast amount of self-governing power from the body social, which has continued to ferment in it ever since, under every disadvantage. But, after the 31st of May, 1793, the relations between power and the nation became inverted. Power then cast down the nation at its feet, and trampled out her political vitality. The nation became but an integral portion of the State. The faculty politic was rapidly absorbed in the agencies of the superior authority. The citizens lost all their liberties, one by one, and did not even retain the sacred security of privacy in their correspondence. Society disappeared. It was only a domain, farmed out by power, and governed by stewards, clerks, and farmers. I will not deny that since the death of Louis XVI France has, under her various governments, occasionally vindicated herself nobly. But those brilliant episodes appertain wholly to the history of the State, not to the history of the people. What I ask is, whether Democracy signifies anything? If it does, and if for Democracy and by Democracy we accomplished a new revolution last February, then I demand to know why, in November, we have nothing but a system of centralization, instead of institutions framed on the basis of our venerated Rousseau's social contract? I say it is the legacy left by 1793 to 1848; by the Social Democrats of the eighteenth century to those of the nineteenth, to attack the system of centralization so lauded by the Jacobins, and to place the citizens of France in possession of themselves. To make Frenchmen, Englishmen, Americans, the first thing to do is to make them citizens. But, unless you decentralize, this is impossible. You will have only rulers and ruled political masters—tyrants and political slaves."

"And law! Public order! Religion! Individual rights!" exclaimed several.

"Ah, bah!" shouted the other. "Do you think, then, that under a democratic and social republic of this kind—one without a dictator, without a Senate, without factotums, and without spies—order would not be preserved? Do you believe that the people want a monarch as they want a God? That without a ruler by prescriptive right, the weak will be at the mercy of the strong, the rich at that of the vagabond; and that individuals will forthwith set to work to rob and murder one another! That an imposing force of bayonets, swords, and artillery, is absolutely necessary to restrain evil passions, punish delinquencies, and give security to honest folks? If so, then you ought to have preserved your monarchic system. It was mere hypocrisy to talk about revolution, and you have been guilty of treason for overthrowing a dynasty."

"Oh! oh! Thou art going too far, Citizen Baudoin," ejaculated half a dozen voices.

"No! Not far enough," retorted he. "I say that under such circumstances, and with ideas like these, you have doubly betrayed the people by proclaiming them sovereign—first, because their sovereignty is fictitious; and in the second place, because, being unreal, it is by implication an accusation that they are unworthy of exercising it. I affirm, that if you thought the people so grossly ignorant, and, when left to govern themselves, capable of such scandalous aberrations and irreparable acts of cowardly mischief, then to establish universal suffrage was a crime against progress and against mankind."

"And the Provisional Government!" asked one of the company.

"Ah! The Provisional Government. Thank thee, citizen, for the hint," responded Baudoin. "Of course, it professed the very highest esteem and confidence in the people—a confidence justified by their conduct during the three days of anarchy in February, when society was in the streets, and at the mercy of the populace. If it had depended upon the sentiments of the Provisional Government, they would have cut the people's leading-strings. But, for the second time, they durst not. They were restrained by that bugbear, the general prejudice—and by that insane fear of the unknown which so frequently distracts the greatest geniuses. So far from advising the demolition of all authority, as they ought, the most radical advised its seizure, and the constitution of a dictature. What was the result? It was found impossible to recognise a dictature, without over-riding the Democratic principle on which the revolution of February was founded. It is something to say that respect for that principle prevented the idea of a dictature from being executed. But the political question was referred, in this dilemma, to the National Assembly, where, like the ecclesiastical question, it was soon smothered and decently interred. There it was understood that the people had not yet attained their majority, and must therefore remain subjected to tutelage, for the time was not yet come to let them govern themselves. Thenceforward, governmentalism was maintained with increased energy, and the meager sop thrown to the people, whose political appetites were at starving point, was the qualification of *Democratic* given to the new constitution. By my faith, citizens, judging of it as published on the fourth of this very month, it is fuller of lies than the Charter of 1830. Yet this is the constitution under which the French people, who are not parties to it, are to be governed. And it is to support this endorsement of the people's political serfdom that our votes are now demanded. Worse than this: we are asked to vote for the man who, after cajoling us in the Assembly, forced us to defend our principles and our lives behind the barricades of June, and who now is sole Dictator of Paris and of France by the voice—not of the nation—but of the cannon."

"We won't have Cavaignac! We won't have him!" shouted a large number of the company.

"Of that I required no assurance," resumed Baudoin. "Every true democratic and socialist republican must vote for Raspail, or not at all. Unless we secure our candidate, the revolution is lost."

As Baudoin resumed his seat, there was a very general assent given to his last proposition, which was manifested by loud shouts of "Well! good!" and by a succession of "bravos." At the height of those, the artist Roussillon made his appearance at the door, accompanied by Leonard Wray. There was almost immediate silence.

"Permit me to introduce my friend, a brother artist, and a brother republican from the other side of the Atlantic," said Roussillon, advancing towards Fourier, and introducing our hero. "Citizen Leonard Wray, of Washington."

"We are delighted to welcome in our midst," replied Fourier, placing Leonard between himself and Victor, "a republican of the right stamp."

"I am deeply indebted to you, gentlemen," observed Leonard, addressing the company generally, in very good French, "for your kind reception of a complete stranger, simply because he is an American, and, I need scarcely add, a republican. My visit to Europe is as an artist; partly one of pleasure, and partly that I may make acquaintance with some of the master-pieces which grace the museums of the European capitals. But my introduction to Monsieur Rousillon is, I find, likely also to afford me an unexpected opportunity of making acquaintance with some of the most distinguished men in France."

This brief speech, after which Leonard seated himself by Fourier, in the place assigned to him, was received with every mark of approbation.

"Citizen Wray," observed Roussillon, "is, I find, somewhat intimately acquainted with Citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte"——

This name was the signal for a loud shout of derision, which having subsided, Roussillon continued:

"And informs me that he is a stanch republican."

"Oh, oh! Boulogne—Strasburg!" retorted several of the company.

"A man may grow wise by experience, brother citizens," said Roussillon.

"*Allons!*" shouted Victor; "another apologist for this crack-brain."

"Crack-brain, or not," retorted Roussillon, "I come to propose to you, very seriously, that our party should"——

"Ah, ah! Elect him President, perhaps," exclaimed Fourier, derisively.

"Precisely, Citizen Fourier; that is my proposition," responded the artist.

For some minutes, the uproar caused by this announcement, made in all gravity by Roussillon, was so great, that nothing could be distinguished amidst the confused clamor of so many voices, save, occasionally, an expression of scorn, or an epithet by no means complimentary to the Prince. Leonard looked on in mute astonishment, for he was uninitiated in the secrets of the party in whose company he found himself, and quite unprepared to find his friend so unpopular. Presently, however, the voice of Roussillon was heard, rising above the tumult:

"I appeal to our brother, Citizen Wray. Let us hear his opinions."

Probably in deference to the stranger, the tumult of voices was hushed, and Roussillon requested Leonard to give the company his opinion of the Prince's republicanism.

"I ought to give no opinion in this matter, save in courtesy to those who ask it of me," said he, rising. "I knew Prince Louis Napoleon in the United States, and it was my privilege to render him some trifling service, which led to my contracting an intimacy with him, which, with little interruption, has lasted until now. He always professed himself an admirer of our institutions, and an advocate of universal suffrage, on the ground that the people are the real source of authority and power." Here he was interrupted by a few murmurs of approbation. "As far as I had any opportunity of learning his sentiments on political questions, they were of the most liberal kind; but whether he would make a wise ruler, it is not in the power of man to answer. I would rather not have given any opinion, gentlemen, for I do not see what end is to be gained by it. I hope you will excuse a stranger for saying even so much."

"It is true," observed Fourier, as Leonard reseated himself; "what have we to gain by learning that Citizen Louis Bonaparte professes to be a sincere republican? Suppose we take it for granted that all who are seeking power, at present, are sincere republicans too? That is an implied condition, whatever may be the fact. But why does Citizen Roussillon propose we should vote him into power?"

"For sound reasons, Citizen Fourier," replied Roussillon; "one of the first of which is, that the whole of our strength, combined, will not bring in our man."

"At least, let us show our strength by voting for him," retorted Fourier.

"Or expose our weakness," retorted the artist.

"It is fortunate for Citizen Roussillon," observed Baudoin, "that his fidelity to the social and democratic republic has been proved, or we might suspect him of deserting our cause."

"No, no!" shouted several of the company.

"Citizen Baudoin," replied Roussillon, turning deadly pale, "when I stood between thee and death, and we fought side by side in the *Clos St. Lazare*, thou didst not accuse me of deserting the cause. Thou art an ingrate."

"Stay, stay," interposed Fourier; "we know thee for a true brother, and thou need not take further heed of Citizen Baudoin. We do not suspect thy fidelity, but thy advice takes us somewhat by surprise. Let us hear thy reasons."

Although irritated at Baudoin's insinuation, Roussillon had his own motives for appearing to be pacified; but he now and then turned his flashing eyes full upon the Socialist reformer, with a scarcely suppressed scowl of defiance, as he detailed his views of the chances of the Red Republican faction in the coming contest. In substance, they were those with which the reader is already acquainted, and seemed to produce a profound impression.

"I tell you, then," he added, in conclusion, "that you have no help for it. The party of order will not vote for Cavaignac, because they have no faith in him. His family antecedents and his own predilections have too much of the Terrorist shade to please them. Ledru-Rollin has no prestige, and will only draw around him those whose political sentiments follow in the wake of place. Changarnier is too Orleanist to secure many votes, and Lamartine too sentimental and weak-handed, let alone that he is at heart as much a monarchist as a republican. Raspail, our own candidate, may depend upon many votes in Paris, but the provinces are against our party. They misunderstand the Red Republic. They have become imbued with the idea that we intend, if we attain to power, proclaiming war against property, on the principle that all property is robbery. For that we may thank Citizen Baudoin. Those, therefore, who have property, and who do not consider themselves robbers, intend to do all they can, by their votes, to keep it. They will give their votes either to Cavaignac or to Citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. But can we vote for Cavaignac? No, no! A thousand times, no! What is more, we must, in the interest of the Red Republic, strive to prevent citizens from voting for him; and as they will not vote for us, they must either abstain, or vote for Louis Napoleon."

"And if he should be elected?" asked one of the company, what guarantee have we for the future?"

"At least as good as though you elected Cavaignac," was the artist's response.

"He will bring on another crisis in less than a month," observed another.

"So much the better," retorted Roussillon; "we shall then have another chance."

"And suppose he should deceive us all, and turn out a wiser man than we think him!" asked De Beauvoisin. "Remember, he is a Bonaparte, and these Bonapartes have a terrible talent for making themselves obeyed, when once they have the power of enforcing their will."

"Citizen de Beauvoisin is jesting, friends," remarked Fourier. "The Republic has little to fear on that score. The talent of the Bonaparte family has not taken that direction; that is self-evident. But if he has all the genius of his uncle, and were as sincere a republican as ourselves, he is not our candidate, and, come what may, we must not vote for him."

There now ensued a long and a warm discussion, which terminated in a decided division of opinion, and the formation of two parties—one under the leadership of Roussillon, the other under that of Fourier and Baudoin. The discussion was still raging loud and furiously, when a servant suddenly entered the apartment, and, in hurried tones, exclaimed—

"The commissary! The commissary!"

The effect produced by this announcement was sudden and startling. The clamor almost immediately ceased, and the assembled company all at once fell to devouring, or pretending to devour, what remained of the fruit that had been served as dessert. A very few moments elapsed before the heavy tread of the guard was heard on the stairs, and presently the commissary of police of the district entered, with two of the guard mobile and his assistant commissary.

"In the name of the Republic," said he, turning aside his cloak, so as to show his scarf, "I bid you disperse. Citizen Fourier, thou knowest this is in contravention of the law."

"No! Pardon me, Citizen Commissary," said Fourier; "the law does not prohibit a peaceable citizen from entertaining his friends in his own house."

"I do not wish to press this matter further," observed the commissary, glancing around, "unless you compel me. I have information respecting you, which has rendered it imperative for me to present myself to you at an inconvenient time, as I perceive, and to disperse your company. Further, I have to apprize you that your house will henceforward be under surveillance. Gentlemen, I hope you will respect the law."

The assembled company were too well acquainted with the nature of the commissary's powers, under present circumstances, to offer any resistance, and they therefore silently prepared to depart. Presently, however, the commissary fixed his eye on Leonard, and forthwith addressed him:

"Your pardon, Citizen; but you are a foreigner, if I mistake not."

"I am," answered Leonard, bowing.

"Your name, if you please."

Leonard, somewhat surprised, but admonished by a glance from the artist, handed his card to the official.

"Your residence?" asked he.

"Hotel de Lille and Albion," replied Leonard.

"Your passport, if you please?"

Greatly annoyed, and considerably perplexed, but feeling that he had no alternative save compliance, Leonard handed him the passport The commissary read it attentively, then folded it up and restored it to its owner, merely observing, "'Tis well."

This ceremony being ended, the assembled guests departed, exchanging salutations with Fourier and with Leonard, who, for some reason, seemed now to be regarded by them with an increased degree of interest. At length he went away with Roussillon, but had scarcely left the apartment, than his impatience found vent:

"Explain to me, Monsieur Roussillon, the meaning of all this," said he.

The artist smiled bitterly as he replied, in a low tone, and in bad English:

"This, friend Wray, is a domiciliary visit. Fourier has been betrayed. It is forbidden by law for more than five persons to meet to talk politics, without the permission of the authorities."

"But why was I singled out?" inquired Leonard.

"It is easy to see you are a foreigner," responded Roussillon, "and your presence in our company looked suspicious. If I could have foreseen this, I would not have brought you here to-night. But take counsel, and keep quite quiet for the next few days. Do not deliver any more of your letters of introduction."

"And you call this a republic, and yourselves a free and independent people!" exclaimed Leonard. "We have different notions of freedom on our side of the Atlantic—yes, sir."

On reaching the great gate of the court-yard, they found a couple more of the guard mobile keeping sentry there; but the two friends passed out, unchallenged, and separated as soon as they found themselves safely in the street.

As Leonard wended his way home, he could not help whistling, "Hail Columbia!"

### LITERARY NOTICES.

Merrimack; or, Life at the Loom. A Tale. By Day Kellogg Lee. New York: Redfield. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

In glancing through the pages of this volume, we have been impressed with the naturalness of its style, the easy flow of its narrative, and its peculiarly interesting revelations of the life and spiritual experiences of a factory girl in New England.

The Workingman's Way in the World, Published and for sale as above.

Another autobiography, from the class of working men. The author, a journeyman printer in London, draws his materials from "a voluminous experience," and arranges them with remarkable skill; so remarkable, indeed, that when his numbers first appeared, they were attributed to a practiced "fictionist." Few will commence this volume, without yielding to the temptation to finish it.

The Life of Mary, Queen of Scots. By P. C. Headley. Auburn: Derby & Miller. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

The portait prefixed to this book does not do justice to Queen Mary. A lovelier face than hers was never painted; and, on looking at her pictures, we do not wonder at her power, or her sufferings as a woman. Mr. Headley says that he has consulted the best authorities, and in his narrative endeavored to avoid the extremes of admiration or abhorrence into which so many authors have been betrayed, when commenting on the life and deeds of that unfortunate Queen. The narrative of Mr. Headley is spirited and entertaining.

The Old Brewery and New Mission House of the Five Points. By the Ladies of the Mission. New York: Stringer & Townsend.

This is a deeply interesting account of the extraordinary missionary efforts which, commenced not long since, bid fair to produce an entire revolution in that famous, or rather infamous, locality in New York, known as the Five Points. It shows what Christianity can effect, when brought directly to bear upon the most loathsome vice, by heroic, determined men and women, glowing with zeal to do good to the outcast and abandoned. The profits on the sales of the book, we are informed in the preface, are to be applied to the support of the Ladies' Mission at the Five Points.

The Lectures of Father Gavazzi. Corrected by himself. New York: M. W. Dodd. For sale by Gray & Ballantyne and Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C. 1 vol., pp. 393.

We heard Father Gavazzi lecture twice, and we felt the spell of his admirable elocution and rhetorical power in the delivery of the two lectures to which we listened, though we but imperfectly followed the course of his remarks, from our great distance from him and his imperfect pronunciation. The report we read in the newspapers at the time, we had supposed to be full, and so to give us all that was said and worth knowing; so that this volume has been laid aside for examination at some very leisure hour. And now we have to say, that every page of these lectures is full of the most important facts and narrations, grouped with great skill and power. Father Gavazzi is one of the thousands of great and gifted minds who cannot sink their nationality in their relations to the Church of Rome—men who have for long years hoped the time would come when the Church of Rome would range itself on the side of freedom. All ages have had such men, and usually the Pope has beguiled them by promises of reform, until, wearied by fruitless labor and corrupted by honors conferred, these great, restless souls have been quieted in the lap of ease and Church preferments. In the life of Gavazzi a revolution intervenes, and he, like all great spirits, rose to eminence in the storm and whirlwind of war; and, once awake and free from the shackles of caste, he would not submit to go back to his priestly office, to be lost in the gloom of a monastery, or to spend his life as the director of an academy. He was eloquent—too much so for the peace of Pius IX and his Cardinals.

Gavazzi sees no hope for Liberty in Italy, so long as the Hierarchy holds its sway.

One word as to this book—as to its merits as a literary labor. It has been prepared by the friend of Gavazzi, G. B. Nicolini, a fellow exile, and author of a History of the late Roman Republic, and revised by himself; and, so far as we know, it is the best book of the kind extant. The lectures are twenty in all. The cost of the book is one dollar, and we wish it may have a sale equal to the vastness of the subjects discussed.

## GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

### PROCEEDINGS IN BOSTON.

The trial of the slave case is not yet closed. The spectacle presented is a revolting one. In sight of Bunker Hill, the whole power of the Federal Government is exerted to return to Slavery, a man, whose offence at the most is, that he has done just what every white man would have done in his circumstances—tried to better his condition by exchanging Slavery for Freedom.

The civil officers of the United States are combined against him. The military and naval forces of the United States have taken possession of the Court House, and the trial goes on under glittering bayonets. Reinforcements from New York have been sent for. Telegraphic mandates go from the President, to enforce the act at all hazards, the military have orders to fire, should an attempt be made at rescue. Aye—sooner than suffer this unoffending man to escape, this man, accused of no crime, to exercise the right of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, declared by our fathers to be inalienable. The military of the United States have authority to fire upon and destroy all assailants, though they should slaughter thousands upon thousands of the best citizens of the Commonwealth! All this, we suppose, exemplifies the beautiful theory of Democracy and Union, State Sovereignty, No Centralization, Inalienable Rights, and all that!

It is stated in Boston, that the claimant knew all about the locality of Burns three weeks ago, but, by the advice of certain friends, concluded to await the passage of the Nebraska Bill, before he attempted his reclamation, so that he might test Northern sentiment after having had that outrageous measure thrust down its throat. We suppose this is an evidence of the fraternal regard of Slaveholders for the North.

At one time, during the progress of this transaction, the claimant, it is stated, offered to sell Burns for $1,200. The price was forthwith raised by some of the rich men of Boston, but, advices having meantime been received from Alexandria, calling upon him to hold on, he refused to complete the bargain, unless the whole expenses of the proceedings besides were paid him! So the negotiation abruptly terminated. We suppose he would rather see Boston in a state of anarchy, the streets running with blood, and the insolent soldiery of the Federal Government bearing sway, than take $1,200 for a man whom he calls his slave!

It is out of the question to dream that such a state of things can long continue. An act so odious that it cannot be executed, except at the cost of anarchy, bloodshed, a continual concentration of power in the hands of the Federal Executive, and at the point of the bayonet, must be repealed, or lead to civil war. This constant employment of the army and navy of the United States to compel obedience within a sovereign State, to an act of Congress, is a precedent full of danger to all the States, but especially to the South.

Boston, May 29, 1 P. M.—The examination of the fugitive slave Burns was resumed this morning. There was considerable excitement, but no further outbreaks. The United States and State military continue out in large force.

A large crowd of people are about the court-house. The prisoner will certainly be remanded.

Boston, May 30, 2 P. M.—Mr. Ellis has concluded his opening address for the defence. He said that he could bring a witness to prove that the slave was here before the time he was alleged to have escaped.

The Court adjourned at a quarter to 2 o'clock. The excitement is subsiding, though large numbers are around the court house, and the military are still out.

Eleven persons have been arrested for the murder of Batchelder. The examination of the case has been postponed till Friday.

Boston, May 31.—The examination of the fugitive slave case has been resumed. The excitement is subsiding, the crowd outside has diminished, and as yet no outbreaks have taken place. The military continue on duty.

[This subsiding of excitement looks apocryphal.]

Boston, May 31, 1½.—The testimony in the fugitive slave case has been resumed. Messrs. Hale and Giddings are in court. The admission of Burns, that he was here two months since, has been allowed as evidence. Dana is now closing.

Boston, 2 P. M.—The Free Soil State Convention met here this morning, at the new Music Hall. 2,000 persons were present.

The fugitive slave Burns, if remanded, will probably be sent home in the revenue cutter Morris.

Tuscaloosa, May 30.—In consequence of the expulsion of a student from the State University, thirty-five of the students in a body, after holding a meeting, and resolving that the student was blameless, have left.

Well, since this is the day of Young America, and the young only are wise, who is to overrule or censure these profound young gentlemen?

New Orleans, May 27.—By the arrival of the steamship Louisiana, we have dates from Galveston to the 21st. By the papers we gather the following items:

The court martial in the case of Dr. Steiner has adjourned, on account of the non-appearance of the prisoner.

The last Legislature of Texas passed a special act, giving to the voters within five miles of Marshall the right to prohibit the sale of spirituous or vinous liquors, in any quantities, except for medicinal purposes. The vote was taken on the law on the 6th instant, and resulted as follows: No License, 136; License 66. The papers exult at the result.

Wilmington, Del., May 31.—Two of Dupont's powder wagons blew up, this morning, inside of the city limits. The driver and all the horses were killed; a small stone house, near by, was blown down, and it is supposed that all the inmates are killed. Bishop Lee's residence was badly injured. Two barns were fired, and are still burning.

### SECOND DESPATCH.

Wilmington, May 31.—Three wagons full of powder, with fifteen horses, have been blown up. John Keys, John Walters, and Thomas Chambers, drivers were killed; Thos. Hughes, just died, his wife and child badly hurt; Mrs. McCoy and Mrs. Reinolds, badly hurt; colored woman in Bishop Lee's house, killed; colored waiter to James E. Price, killed; John McLaughlin's child, and a part of Bishop Lee's family, missing.

The explosion took place at the corner of 15th and Orange streets, opposite Bishop Lee's residence.

James Canby and James E. Price's families not seriously hurt.

Several residences and six stables were blown down, and fifty other houses damaged very badly. The walls of Mr. Price's residence are expected to fall.

Missouri—Henry M. Vories, of Buchanan county, has been nominated as the anti-Benton and the Nebraska Democratic candidate for Congress in the fourth Congressional district.

### PROFESSOR BUTLER'S FAMILY.

We have received a private letter from a gentleman of high character, well known in the scientific world, stating that Mr. Noble Butler, brother of him whom Matthew Ward murdered, is likely to be obliged to *sell his house* to raise money to pay the necessary expenses of the prosecution. Several of his friends in Louisville have acted very generously in the matter, but in consequence of the wealth of the Wards, and the extraordinary efforts made by them to secure impunity for the murder, the expenses of Mr. Butler have been very heavy. Our correspondent, whose name alone, if we were at liberty to give it, would secure attention and entire confidence in his statements, adds:

"Mr. Butler, like his lamented brother, is a teacher, and conducts one of the best young ladies' day-schools in Kentucky. He is a man of small means, but with a noble, generous soul, well worthy of his Christian name. Knowing him intimately, and being with him during the dark and exciting hour of his poor brother's death, when his Christian principles were put to the severest test that can be conceived, he never was heard to utter a vindictive word against the miserable being whose mad folly had brought to a murderous end his brother's valuable and beautiful life."—*N. Y. Times.*

Professor Butler left a widow and child. Let them be cared for also. We doubt not many of our readers will respond to this suggestion.

## CONGRESS.

### THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

In the Senate, Monday, the printing question was finally disposed of. The motion to reconsider was agreed to—yeas 21, nays 16.

Mr. Gwin moved to lay the resolution on the table. Lost—yeas 9, nays 26.

Mr. Brodhead moved to amend the resolution by requiring the copies of the document to be printed by the Senate printer.

The amendment was agreed to—yeas 23, nays 11.

The number of copies was then increased to 40,000, and the resolution was then adopted—yeas 23, nays 12.

On motion by Mr. Gwin, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill authorizing the coinage of gold pieces of the value respectively of $100 and $50.

The bill was read through, and then postponed.

In the House, after Mr. McDougal had concluded,

Mr. Shaw addressed the Committee on the subject of the public lands, and against the policy of distribution, contending that Congress possesses no power to dispose of the public lands, only so far as it can dispose of money taken from the Treasury to carry out legitimate purposes, which the Constitution has authorized Congress to accomplish.

Mr. Gerrit Smith obtained the floor. He said that he proposed to speak against the Pacific railroad bill.

On his motion the Committee rose.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, the House insisted on its amendments to the Deficiency bill, and a committee of conference was ordered on the disagreeing votes.

Mr. Walbridge asked leave to offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, (the Senate concurring,) That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives adjourn their respective Houses, *sine die*, on Monday, the 3d day of July next, at 12 o'clock M.

Objection having been made, he moved a suspension of the rules; pending which,

The House adjourned.

*Senate, Tuesday, May 30, 1854.*

Mr. Adams submitted a resolution directing the Committee on Pensions to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill granting a pension to the widow of James Batchelder, lately killed in Boston while executing a law of the United States.

Mr. Sumner objecting, the resolution was laid over.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution providing for an adjournment of Congress on Monday, July 3, at 12 o'clock M.

Mr. Dawson moved to amend the resolution by providing for an adjournment of the two Houses on the first Monday in July, till the third Monday in October next.

Mr. Gwin accepted the amendment as a modification of the resolution.

Messrs. Pettit, Douglas, Toombs, and Brown, opposed the recess, and Messrs. Clayton, Dawson, Brodhead, Pratt, Johnson, and Bayard, advocated the resolution.

After further debate, the motion of Mr. Bayard was lost, and the resolution was adopted—yeas 26, nays 17.

The vetoed Insane Land bill was taken up, and postponed till to-morrow.

Mr. Hunter, from the Committee of Conference, made a report on the disagreeing votes on the Deficiency bill, by which the appropriation for the water works, and all others for the District, are abandoned.

It was concurred in, and the Senate adjourned.

*House of Representatives, May 30, 1854.*

Mr. May, by consent, presented a resolution calling for any correspondence between the State Department and Mr. Carroll Spence, our Minister at Constantinople; and took occasion to remark that, when the views of that gentleman shall be correctly understood, and especially when we shall be in possession of an authentic report of his speech on being presented to the Sultan, it will be found that he has uttered nothing incompatible with the true principles of our Government.

The resolution was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Houston, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and took up the Pacific Railroad bill.

Mr. Gerrit Smith arose, and addressed the Committee in an elaborate argument on the subject. He premised that this was substantially a bill to construct a road to the Pacific by our Government—a road to be owned by the Government—a road the Government would continue to own as long as it would continue to own the territory on which it would be made. Such would be the connection of the Government with this road—such its controlling influence with regard to it; and, because of this, he would oppose the bill.

He was not opposed to the road; no American could be. It would prove a bond of union, and a blessing to the country. But he was opposed to its construction by the General Government. He regarded the performance of this duty by the Government as beyond its legitimate sphere. It were better that we should not enjoy the advantages of such a road, than that the Government should construct it.

Mr. Smith proceeded to discuss the nature of Government as it is, and as it should be administered, and contended that its interference in the enterprises of the People was subversive of the public welfare and safety.

We had boasted of the success of our experiment in self-government; but we had not attained to the perfection of self-government. Far from it. We had chosen our form of government, and we choose our rulers; but we do not govern ourselves. We have yet to learn the truthful lesson, that a people's own government is that from which they have most to fear.

The legitimate duty of a Government is simply that of protection; and the apprehension of this truth by the people would be productive of great good.

Mr. Smith argued that economy and every other consideration indicated the same policy; and incidentally alluded to the evil of war as an off-shoot from this usurpation of the governing power.

Mr. Perkins obtained the floor, but yielded to

Mr. Phelps, who moved that the Committee rise; which was agreed to.

Mr. Phelps, from the Committee of Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the Deficiency bill, submitted a report; which was read; and an irregular debate succeeded.

[All the appropriations for the District of Columbia, inserted by the Senate and stricken out by the House, are omitted in the bill as now reported.]

Pending the consideration of this subject, a motion was made to adjourn, and, to ascertain whether there was a quorum present, the yeas and nays were demanded, when it appeared that there were—yeas 18, nays 93—seven less than a quorum.

The House subsequently agreed to the report of the Committee of Conference, and adjourned.

*Senate, Wednesday, May 31, 1854.*

Mr. Stuart submitted a resolution providing for an adjournment of the Senate from to-morrow till Monday next, for the purpose of having the carpets taken up and the Hall renovated; and the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Benjamin withdrew his motion to reconsider the resolution ordering for the use of the Senate 5,022 copies of the *Congressional Globe and Appendix.*

The Senate then resumed the consideration of the bill granting land to the several States, for the relief of the indigent insane.

Mr. Hunter addressed the Senate in support of the veto, and against the constitutionality of the bill.

*House of Representatives, May 31, 1854.*

Mr. Houston moved that the Indian Appropriation bill, as amended by the Senate, be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means; and it was so referred.

Mr. Olds, from the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, reported back the House bill, as amended by the Senate, for the regulation of the pay of postmasters; which was postponed for the present.

Mr. Oliver, by consent, presented a bill to provide for the survey and sale of the public lands in Kansas, and to establish a land office therein. Referred.

Mr. Fuller, from the Committee on Commerce, reported back, with an adverse recommendation, the bill for the improvement of the Cape Fear river. Referred to the Committee of the Whole, and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. Houston, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Bocock in the chair.)

Mr. J. Perkins arose to address the Committee on Mr. Bennett's land bill; but he first took occasion to review a portion of the address of Messrs. Maurice, Wheeler, Peck, Peckham, and Oliver, of New York, in which the design of acquiring Cuba and annexing Mexico is charged upon the President: and in which Mr. Soulé is alleged to be a party to the designs upon Cuba.

Mr. Perkins said he knew nothing of the things charged. He claimed to be influenced by no sectional views, but simply by constitutional convictions. He was not here as a special advocate of the Administration. But Mr. Soulé could not defend himself here; and it was neither manly, chivalric, nor characteristic of gentlemen occupying a place on this floor.

Mr. Perkins read certain extracts, containing charges, expressed or implied, against Mr. Soulé, and declared that he, though a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, knew nothing of the things asserted. He, however, regarded it as totally incredible, that Mr. Soulé had done aught of an unjust, discourteous, or insulting character.

Whatever Mr. Soulé had done with respect to the Black Warrior, he had done at the solicitation of citizens of New York, where that property was owned—of constituents of those very gentlemen.

Mr. P. had voted for the Nebraska bill, but he had so voted in the fulfilment of a solemn duty; and he respected the firm and manly conduct of Northern gentlemen who had been just enough to do so also.

Mr. Peckham said he was one of the signers of this address. It was not the purpose of any of the signers of the address to attack Mr. Soulé personally; and no statement made was professed to be based upon personal knowledge. Reports generally accredited and uncontradicted were not wholly inadmissible. He could not now allude to the affairs of Cuba, but would do so at the earliest practicable period.

Mr. Peck said he would refer Mr. Perkins to a certain speech of Mr. Soulé, bearing upon Cuba, for the proof of his designs in reference thereto.

Mr. Maurice spoke more at length. He said the address brought to the notice of the Committee, was intended for the constituents of its signers only; and that its introduction to the House was an unnecessary act. Whether it was to be considered as manly or chivalric, or not, he would not ask; but he desired to know if it contained a word that was not in accordance with truth.

The opinions of Mr. Soulé were not unknown. His appointment had been regarded with surprise throughout the country, and with alarm. His conduct at Madrid also had been such as had been expected. It had proved startling and alarming to the people of this country. And, in relation to the Black Warrior, he had been peculiarly and unnecessarily insolent and insulting. He had this not from official source, though he doubted not it could there be found; but it had been everywhere reported and believed in this country. It had been copied from the London *Times* into the Washington *Union*.

He doubted not, however, that on his return to this hall in a few days, he could establish the truth of every allegation and the soundness of every conjecture made in the address in question.

Mr. Perkins replied briefly, when

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, arose, and said that the address, so far from being designed exclusively for the constituents of the gentlemen signing it, was evidently designed for general circulation; and, in proof of this, he would state that it had been published in the *National Intelligencer*, by procurement, of course. It was designed to injure the Democratic party and its acknowledged leader, the President of the United States. Its signers, he declared, were no longer members of that party.

Mr. Peckham. Oh, no! oh, no! [General and loud laughter.]

Mr. Smith described the laughter as sardonic, and continued to denounce the address, declaring that it had taken up every conceivable piece of Whig and Abolition tattle and scandal against the Democratic party and its chief. It was the true policy of the Democratic party to cause all impurities to slough off.

In denouncing Abolitionists in general, Mr. Smith paused, and said, there was one gentleman upon that floor of that class, whom he could not denounce—one whom he respected as a just and good man—a remarkable illustration of just intentions in error—a gentleman whom he honored, and whom the South would receive with a warm and cordial welcome, as entitled to its respect and esteem—a man who would never violate truth, nor dignity of bearing.

[Mr. Gerrit Smith was here understood to be referred to.]

Mr. Maurice here arose, and said he felt grateful to the gentleman from Virginia for the degree of importance he had attached to the humble address in question. A copy of it should be placed upon the desk of each gentleman, and he now entertained a hope it would be generally read! [Laughter.]

Mr. Smith said he regarded the address as important, as it was a type of its kind. More extended operations of the same character were talked of.

Mr. Perkins gave notice of his intention to print his remarks entire upon the subject upon which he had arisen; and at forty minutes past one o'clock, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned till 8 o'clock, to-morrow.

For the National Era.

## MAYING SONG.

BY LUCY LARCOM.

May, merry May, is out-of doors,
The clouds have ceased their weeping.
To see kind Earth unlock her stores
A thousand rays are peeping.
The treasures kept for lovely May
Are hills and fields displaying.
For shame—to stay
At home to-day!
Come, let us go a-Maying!

There's saxifrage upon the rock,
And cowslips in the rushes;
The yellow bell-flower's slender stalk
Is nodding through the bushes.
Blue violets, white anemones,
With bashful winds are playing.
There's more than these
Beneath the trees—
Come, let us go a-Maying!

The apple-buds begin to blush,
The peach will bloom to-morrow;
The maples wear their reddest flush.
The tasseled larches borrow
The brightest green that spring can spare,
Her loan with beauty paying.
The sweet-breathed air
Sings everywhere,
Come, let us go a-Maying!

Among the boughs the robins built,
Before the April showers;
The oriole now, with plumage gilt,
Goes flashing by the flowers;
The bob-o'-link his "how d'ye do"
O'er unsown fields is saying.
He's calling you;
He means me, too;
Come, let us go a-maying!

For once give over toil, and flee
To pine woods ever shady,
For better hoards than eye can see—
The harvest of a May-day.
The scent of forest-blossoms fair,
Among our home-thoughts staying,
Will stifle care,
With richer air,
Oh, come! let's go a-Maying!

### THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

We have already referred to the proceedings of the State Convention of Independent Democrats, which assembled at Pittsburgh, on the 24th. The policy of uniting with the Whigs in the coming election in Pennsylvania was discussed at length, but voted down by a large majority. The ground taken by the Whig Party in that State was regarded as far below the demands of Freedom, embracing no declaration of sentiments concerning the Fugitive Slave Act or Slavery within the limits of the Federal Jurisdiction. The Pittsburgh *Visiter* says:

"If the Whigs and Judge Pollock will now come out for the 'repeal of the Nebraska bill,' and as they once promised, of the Fugitive Slave bill; if they will repudiate the Compromises of '50 and '54—for this last is but another Compromise; if they will take the ground of the Connecticut Legislature, namely, 'no more slave States, no slave Territories'—then, in God's name, let the Free Democratic nominees withdraw and vote for Whigs, so pledged, if their lives indicate sound back-bones."

A resolution was submitted, recommending a State Convention of citizens of all parties, to take into consideration the continued aggressions of the Slave Power, but after much discussion this was rejected.

The following resolutions were then adopted by the Convention:

"*Resolved*, That hereafter we will not be content with resisting the aggressions of the slave power, whenever we fight to disadvantage, but will 'carry the war into Africa' itself; and will not cease our struggle until we have excluded Slavery from all the Territories, abolished it in the District of Columbia, prohibited the sale of human beings for the debts of their alleged masters, under Federal process, repealed the fugitive slave law, divorced the National Government from all support of Slavery, and used all constitutional power to drive the iniquitous system from our country.

"*Resolved*, That the Pittsburgh Platform of Independent Democracy, adopted August 12, 1852, (except the tenth article thereof,) is a bold assertion of true Democratic doctrines, and the measures there proposed is Democracy reduced to practice, and we therefore cordially approve and will steadfastly adhere to it.

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of dividing the State into single Senatorial and Representative districts for the State Legislature, and are opposed to all special and class legislation, and demand, instead, the passage of general laws, and that each bill be confined to one object, which shall be named in the title.

"*Resolved*, That we regard the traffic in intoxicating drink as one of the most fruitful sources of misery, pauperism, and crime, and demand its total prohibition, by a law adequate in its penalties and means of execution to accomplish that object.

"*Resolved*, That the prohibition of Slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min. was part of a compromise which never should have been made; but that compromise having been made, and the part of it favorable to Slavery having been substantially executed, it is as disgraceful to the slave interest to demand the repeal of the part favorable to Freedom, as it is to Northern doughfaces to yield to that demand, and as it will be to all Northern freemen if they acquiesce in its repeal.

"*Resolved*, That the eleven Pennsylvania allies of Slavery in Congress, who have misrepresented the State, and sought to dishonor their constituents by the repeal of the Missouri prohibition of Slavery, ought to receive the hearty contempt of all true Americans who believe the Declaration of Independence was adopted in good faith, and not as a rhetorical flourish; and we hereby pledge ourselves to use our utmost exertions to bring about union and harmony amongst true men of all parties, for the defeat of all such men."

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

# WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1854.

### RENEWALS AND NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS.—WHO RESPONDS?

The time has come when we must call upon subscribers whose terms are about expiring, to renew; and, while doing so, to send new names with their own. The first half of the present volume of the *Era* will close with the last of this month. We have just sent out a special request to our voluntary agents, to join in a determined and vigorous effort to enlarge our list. The time is auspicious. People are aroused on the subject of Slavery, and need information. Only the first great triumph of the Slave Power has been won. Further and more dangerous aggressions are meditated. The Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country needs organization. To promote the great cause of Union for the sake of Freedom, the most active efforts ought now to be made, to increase the circulation of newspapers opposed to Slavery.

The *Era* needs a special movement in its favor. Some of its best agents during the last twelve months have diverted their labors to the establishment of local Anti-Slavery papers. We do not complain of this, but could they not now spare a few weeks to the *Era*, which has no *local* support, and must depend alone upon the general interest felt in the vigorous maintenance of such a paper at the seat of Government? In brief terms, let us say that, should they succeed in adding to our Weekly list six thousand subscribers, it would not repay the loss we have sustained in undertaking to carry on a *Daily Era*, although it would enable us to relieve ourselves from the embarrassments in which that has involved us.

Let every agent use his best exertions for the paper. Let every subscriber whose time is about to expire, renew promptly, and send us at least one new name. We reprint our Terms, and shall keep them standing, as a guide to the efforts of our friends:

TERMS OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| One copy, 1 year, | $2 | One copy, 6 months, | $1 |
| Three copies, do., | 5 | Five copies, do., | 5 |
| Ten copies, do., | 15 | Ten copies, do., | 8 |

Voluntary agents are entitled to retain 50 cents commission on each new yearly, and 25 cents on each new semi-yearly, subscriber, except in the case of clubs. Twenty-five cents is the commission on the *renewal* of an old subscriber.

A club of three subscribers (one of whom may be an *old* one) at $5, will entitle the person making it up to a copy of the *Era* three months; a club of five (two of whom may be *old* ones) at $8, to a copy for six months; a club of ten (five of whom may be *old* ones) at $15, to a copy for one year.

Money to be forwarded, by *mail*, at *my risk*. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposit. G. BAILEY.

*Washington, D. C.*, 1854.

### WHAT A LITTLE EFFORT CAN ACCOMPLISH.

Everybody has a circle within which he or she can operate. Here is what an honest mechanic, appreciating the importance of circulating Anti-Slavery information at this crisis, did for the *Era*, a few days since, at Monmouth, Illinois:

"Sir, I know the character of your paper, it having been taken by a member of our family, James Robb, of Pittsburgh, for a number of years; and as I feel it to be my duty to labor for the cause of the oppressed everywhere, I am persuaded that to extend the *Era* will promote this result. It was only last Saturday I concluded to send for it, and am making known my purpose to others that come into my shop. I thought I could form a club of ten without much effort. So, in two days, I got seven *new* subscribers; and I think that before the paper arrives, I can make up more than a club of ten. So you see from this feeble effort what could be done by the whole army of Free Democrats, if they *would but try*."

WEYMOUTH, *May* 24, 1854.

I saw a suggestion in your paper, the *National Era*, that every subscriber should obtain one more. I like the idea, but action is better. I think it will be very easy for every one to do it. I am an old subscriber. I send you two more subscribers, for which I enclose you three dollars.

### ANOTHER STORY BY ALICE CAREY.

We intend to commence a new story by Alice Carey, the first week in July.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM BELL SMITH will appear in next week's *Era*.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE has reached a circulation, counting all its issues, of 150,000. Its friends have worked hard for it.

☞ Our Philadelphia package, usually sent to our agent by Adams & Co.'s express, failed to reach him last week; consequently, our subscribers there failed to receive their papers; but we expect to be able to furnish them with the missing number this week.

☞ Some one sends us two dollars from Peacham, Vermont, but does not us give his name.

☞ To prepare the Capitol for the summer session of Congress will cost a few thousands of dollars, as we have been assured. This is a large expenditure, if that session is only to last from the first Monday in June until the first Monday in July. But the opinion is gaining here, that so early an adjournment is a thing impossible. Members, on going before their constituents, will prefer showing something more than the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, as the result of their labors during a whole session of seven months.

HORRIBLE ACCIDENT FROM CAMPHENE.—The Frankfort, Ky., *Commonwealth* states that on Monday night, May 22d, three daughters of Rev. Mr. Perry, Methodist preacher, living at El Dorado, six or seven miles from Harrodsburg, were horribly burned by the explosion of a camphene lamp, and that the whole three are dead, and were buried in the same grave, on Wednesday.

### WHAT IS TO BE DONE?—"THE NEED OF THE TIME."

In another column the reader will find an article from a very intelligent correspondent, on the "Need of the Time." It deserves consideration. The writer would interpose no obstacle in the way of those who are seeking to bring about a general union of the friends of Freedom, but his object evidently is, to guard against an inadequate and inefficient organization of their forces.

The perpetuation of the Whig Party necessarily involves the maintenance of the present Democratic Party—and the continuance of both, leaves to Free-Soilers, or Independent Democrats, no alternative but the preservation of their organization.

The nucleus of the Independent Democratic Party was formed in 1839–'40, and was then known as "the Liberty Party." From that time down to the last Presidential election, the most determined efforts were made to secure to the Whig Party the adhesion of its members. Its separate action was condemned as a blunder. Its leaders were charged with playing into the hands of the "Locofocos." It was asserted that the Whigs were more favorably disposed to the Cause of Freedom than the Democrats; and, therefore, although not coming quite up to the standard of the Liberty men, they had a just claim upon their support. "A half loaf was better than no bread." The true policy was "to choose between evils;" the right way was to vote for the men, least opposed to their opinions, who had a chance of being elected. It was folly to throw away their votes, without the slightest prospect of success; it was wicked, by withholding them from the Whig Party, to subject it to defeat. Of course, men who plied them with arguments of this kind, held them responsible for the defeat of Henry Clay, and what was charged as necessary consequences, the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war; and responsible, too, for the election of General Pierce, and whatever consequences resulted from that event.

Steadily the friends of direct political action against the Slave Power, maintained their ground, through evil and good report, adding to their numbers, never changing their principles or policy, although, in obedience to circumstances, they accepted a new name, and in 1848 became known as the Free or Independent Democracy. They admitted frankly that in the Free States, there were more Whigs than Democrats liberally disposed towards their views, and inclined to opposition to Slavery; but, they pointed to the facts, that the Party which is in the ascendant in the Federal Government, having secured its place by alliance with the Slave Power, in obedience to that Power, is peculiarly intolerant towards Anti-Slavery movements; that, from 1836 to 1852, the Democrats were thus in the ascendant, with the exception of a few months of power under General Harrison, and a four years' term from 1848 to 1852; that the Anti-Slavery policy of the Whigs in the free States, when out of power, was to be attributed largely to their necessities, which constrain an opposition to avail itself of every element of hostility to the Administration Party; that similar necessities developed similar Anti-Slavery proclivities in the Democratic Party, when it was thrown out of power and into the opposition, in 1848; and that the Whigs, *organized nationally*, and in possession of the Government from 1848 to 1852, were *practically* as pro-slavery as their predecessors—the surrender of the Wilmot Proviso, and the imposition of the Fugitive Slave Act, being the most signal achievements of the Fillmore Administration.

And they now point to these additional facts, that, in the Whig National Convention of 1852, a majority of delegates passed resolutions in favor of the pro-slavery legislation of 1850, affirmed its finality, avowed opposition to further agitation of the Slavery question, and put in nomination a Presidential candidate who accepted emphatically the policy thus proclaimed; and that, subsequently, the Whigs generally, in their State Conventions and through their leading journals, declared acquiescence in what had been done, and manifested a strong repugnance to any kind of movement on the subject of Slavery.

We reproduce these facts, not for the purpose of reproaching any Party, not for the purpose of placing Whigs or Democrats on their defence, not to provoke recrimination or stir up anew the elements of discord, but to justify the policy of the Independent Democrats, and demonstrate to all politicians that *a union of the friends of Freedom in the free States, on the basis of either the Whig or Democratic organization, as at present existing, is utterly out of the question.* Maintain these Parties, and the same reasons which have constrained the Independent Democracy to keep up its separate organization, will force the same policy upon it. We never will assent to the compromising tactics of either, or sustain them.

The fundamental vice of both is clearly stated by our correspondent:

"Each of the other parties is divided into two wings—an Anti-Slavery wing and a Pro-Slavery wing. The Pro-Slavery wing of each is composed of *slaveholders, who look upon Slavery as the paramount interest to be regarded in all political and legislative action, and non-slaveholders who either fear Slavery, or are careless respecting it, and therefore quite willing to do whatever the slaveholders require.* The Anti-Slavery wing of each has acted on the principle that *party unity is the primary necessity, and that, whatever obnoxious platform may be set up, or whatever obnoxious candidates nominated, they are to be acquiesced in and supported, rather than hazard party division.*"

The result is before our eyes. Polk, elected by the Democratic Party, wars upon Mexico, and dismembers it, for the purpose of enlarging the area of Slavery. Fillmore, elected by the Whigs, abandons the doctrine of the glorious Ordinance of 1787, and fastens upon the country an odious act, which just now has brought a sovereign State to the brink of civil war. Pierce, chosen by the Democratic Party, repeals the Missouri Compromise, and meditates a war to prevent Emancipation in Cuba. And two years hence, a Whig President, elected on the principle clearly stated in the foregoing paragraph, would signalize his Administration by some other outrageous concession to Slavery.

No, gentlemen; if you choose to put your old parties under foot, we will put ours. Heaven knows we have no fondness for mere organization; that we care not a straw for the Independent Democratic party, if its principles and policy in regard to Slavery be adopted by the People. We go for a union of the friends of Freedom, without distinction of party; drop old names, and disregard old issues; form a real party of Freedom, with no element of compromise about it; and we are with you. But let us begin right. Let us not build upon an old and a worn-out organization. Let us have done with trimming, and paltering, and tinkering, and cunning contrivances of half-way measures. The cry now is, Repeal! Repeal of what? The Nebraska and Kansas Bill? Nobody desires to see that repealed, so far as it embraces the organization of the Territories. The repeal of that section is meant by, which the Anti-Slavery restriction in the Missouri Compromise is declared null and void. We have no objection to this; indeed, it may serve as a very convenient rallying cry; but if that be all, it is hardly worth the labor of attempting a new party. There must be a principle at the bottom of the new movement, if it is to be successful. That principle must be determined by ascertaining what are our national responsibilities for Slavery. Just so far as these extend, our action must go. Slavery exists within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government, is sustained there by its power, and the Slave Interest possesses and controls this Government. For this state of things, not the slaveholders alone, not the People of the slave States alone, but the People of all the States are responsible. Our duty is plain: it is, to turn Slavery out of the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government, and rescue that from the grasp of the Slave Interest. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise is but one of the many acts of the supremacy we have allowed to the Slave Power. *We must destroy that supremacy!* That alone will save this country from becoming an immense Slave Empire, dedicated to the propagation of Slavery.

Again, we say, *let us begin right.* There are three articles which contain the whole creed of the Independent Democracy on the subject of Slavery:

"That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the General Government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and, therefore, the Government, having no more power to make a Slave than to make a King, and no more power to establish Slavery than to establish Monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of Slavery, wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.

"That, to the persevering and importunate demands of the Slave Power for more slave States, new slave Territories, and the nationalization of Slavery, our distinct and final answer is—no more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized Slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

"That Slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism, alike demand its abolition."

Let the Democratic Party, assembled in National Convention, adopt substantially this creed, and it becomes *the* Party of Freedom. From that moment, it will have a right to claim, and it will command, the vote of every citizen who believes that the need of the time is, the abolition of the Slave Power. Let the Whig Party assembled in National Convention, take this ground, and it becomes *the* Party of Freedom, and would deserve, as it would receive, the vote of every sincere opponent of Slavery. But, this is not to be expected. In fact, a strong repugnance is beginning to prevail in the public mind, against the holding of any more National Conventions, to determine platforms and select candidates. Very well—let the work be done in the several States. It is already begun. As we said the other day, Ohio leads the movement. The old Whig papers of that State manifest a spirit of wisdom, liberality, and patriotism. They give up old organizations, formulas, and names. They call for a Party of the People. Laying aside all pretensions of superior policy in time past, they are willing to unite on equal terms with Democrats and Independent Democrats, in a common movement for the redemption of the country from the rule of Slavery. Of course, such Principles as we have indicated above, will be cordially sustained by such a union; and the example once fairly set, it will be emulated in other States. The leading journals in Wisconsin and Michigan are already suggesting a similar movement. Let no narrow prejudices, no blind devotion to mere organization, interfere. We observe that in Michigan, the Detroit *Tribune* proposes a State Convention of all opponents of Slavery, to meet on the 17th of June. Just before this, although unknown to the editor of that paper, the Central Committee of the Independent or Free Democracy of Michigan had called a Mass Convention, to meet on the 22d of June. Why not make an effort for concert? Let our friends confer with those of other Parties, who are in favor of a combined movement, and let a call be agreed upon, which shall have no party aspect or bearing. Let there be no strife now for pre-eminence—no attempt to magnify the zeal of one class of the opponents of Slavery over another.

In New York, there is a tenacity of old party prejudice, which will present a serious obstacle to union. A portion of Democrats clings to the Administration, and does not seem to entertain even the thought of a disorganization of existing parties. A portion of the Whigs is just as impracticable. The Albany *Evening Journal*, in an article on the 26th ult., after some very just observations on the divisions among the People of the free States, and the consequent ascendency of the Slaveholding Oligarchy, extinguishes completely the force of its whole article, by the following paragraph in conclusion:

"For ourselves, we believe the end of Parties to be—not, like Armies, to aggrandize one ruler and dethrone another, nor, like Churches, to uphold abstract creeds of faith—but to deal directly with the practical issues of their day and generation. And the only way we have ever found to do that, has been by *voting for men that can be elected*, and *working with parties that can beat.* So far, we have not found Freedom *practically* advanced one step except by the Whig Party, with whom we have acted for years. When we find another equally right in its principles, and more able and willing to carry them out, we will urge voters to go for that one."

That is—Slavery governs this country, and is hurrying it on to ruin, because the People of the Free States, who in the aggregate constitute the great majority of voters, are divided among Whigs, Democrats, and Independent Democrats, thus frittering away all their strength: we (the Albany *Evening Journal*) therefore insist upon the necessity of union—let us all unite, and we shall be more than a match for the Slave Interest, and shall be able to take possession of the Federal Government—but, just one word in your ear, good people—*you must all join the Whig Party, "with which we have been allied for years!"*

The *Journal* should be more reasonable and liberal. Democrats and Independent Democrats think as highly of their respective organizations, as the *Journal* does of the Whig. It has no right to ask them to do what it refuses to consent to. It is not respectful to the masses of voters, who differ from it, to require as a condition to their united action, that they should become Whigs. Let it do as its brethren have done in Ohio, proclaim its readiness to drop old names, old issues, and unite on equal terms with those who have been called, Democrats, and Independents Democrats. Then might we expect an efficient organization of the friends of Freedom in the State of New York—then would the voice and action of that great State be potential for Liberty.

Till the *Journal*, and other newspapers like it, manifest a willingness for an *equal* union of the opponents of Slavery, they will have to bear the responsibility of the divisions that now place the sceptre in the hands of the Slaveholding Oligarchy. This will be the more deplorable, shall we not say, reprehensible, because the *Journal* plainly avows the principles and policy in relation to the Slave Question, contended for by the Independent Democracy. On the 23d ult., it contained a strong editorial, from which we copy the following extract:

"We cannot read the future. We cannot predict what will be the consequences of this last and most fatal blow to liberty. But we can see what the duty of freemen is, and we mean it shall be through no fault of ours if it is left undone.

"If the North is what it claims to be, and what we have, of late, had gratifying assurance that it will be, this *day ends the era of compromises.* With the band of Representatives that have nobly resisted the consummation of this iniquity for its standard-bearers, it will declare that there shall be *no more new slave States. That there shall be no more slave Territories. That there shall be no more Northern Congressmen with Southern principles. It will seek the immediate colonization of Nebraska by those who can yet save it from the impending curse. It will take a solemn pledge of the men it sends to Washington, that their first and last vote there shall be cast for repeal and freedom. It will send no more fugitives back without a legal trial. It will sweep Slavery out of every nook and corner where the General Government has jurisdiction, imprison it within its fifteen States, and surround it there with triple bands of steel. It will 'establish justice, promote tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to itself and to its posterity.'* This the United States will do, if they have retained the spirit of their founders. If not, then God help the Republic, for its days are numbered. Such a gigantic Confederacy of crime as it must otherwise become, never existed elsewhere, cannot exist here, and ought not to exist anywhere."

This the United States will do, "if they have retained the spirit of their founders," and if the Whig and Democratic masses, represented by such journals as the *Journal* and *Atlas* of Albany, the *Tribune* and *Post* of New York, will now give up their mutual strife, acknowledge the paramount importance of the Slavery issue, and, recognising the absolute necessity of union among the voters of the Free States, unite in a Party of Freedom, for the rescue of the Federal Government from the domination of the Slave Power. If they will not do this, then we say, too, "God help the Republic, for its days are numbered!"

As a matter of fact, we know that there are Whigs and Democrats in New York ready for such a union. On the Democratic side, we point to BENJAMIN F. BUTLER and PRESTON KING—on the Whig side, to the editors of the New York *Tribune*, themselves a host. Why will not these liberal men, who see clearly the necessities of the hour, whose convictions of present duty are stronger than recollections of ancient strife, prepare the way for such a union in New York as is now in progress in Ohio?

For ourselves, we care not who are to be the leaders, who the men of mark, who, the standard-bearers, in this great Party of Freedom, which ought to be formed, and which, we fervently hope, is in process of formation. Let it throw Compromise to the winds, let it be out and out against Slavery, let it demand all that the Constitution authorizes, and take nothing less; let it boldly proclaim its purpose to place the Federal Government on the side Liberty, as it is now forced on the side of Slavery, and we shall not stop to inquire "who shall be greatest," or to dispute about metaphysical abstractions and subtleties.

### THE CLOSING SCENE.

The enforcement of the Fugitive Act in the case of Burns, required the whole power of the Federal Government. The marines at Boston, and the United States troops at New York and at Portsmouth, N. H., were ordered to the scene of action, and took possession of the Court House and Court Square. For the time, the whole city was under the power of the standing army of the United States. Never before did the sovereignty of a State appear so insignificant, never before did the doctrine of State Rights, hypocritically magnified by the sham Democracy, appear such a mockery. The Court House was a Bastile, the city was in a state of siege for one week.

As the last act of the drama was about to open, on the morning of the 2d, Court Square was cleared, a six-pounder from the Navy Yard was stationed to guard the main entrance of the Court House, the Federal troops were drawn up in hostile array, and, to overawe the People, the artillery detachment performed various evolutions!

Orders were then given to clear the street leading to the wharf, where was stationed a United States revenue cutter, ready to receive the unfortunate prisoner. By one o'clock, the United States troops had succeeded in opening a clear passage; and at half past two the fugitive was carried to the cutter by the Marshal and his gang of two hundred men, armed with swords and pistols, and by 1,200 United States soldiers, all under cover of a nine-pounder, which commanded the length of the street!

And thus was the Fugitive Slave Act enforced.

Suppose Southern People weigh the consequences of this transaction? Is this offensive interposition of the Federal Power, within a sovereign State, a safe precedent? Is this constant resort to a Standing Army, to enforce an odious Federal enactment, favorable to the stability of republican institutions? When the People of the Free States, forgetting all their divisions, shall have united, and assumed the possession of the Federal Government, and an Anti-Slavery Administration shall have command of the army and navy, how will they like the precedents furnished by Pro-Slavery Administrations?

Mr. Suttle has got his fugitive back, but at what cost? How many Northern People have been conciliated? How much opinion has been manufactured in favor of the Fugitive act? How much of the opposition to the Nebraska Bill, and the Slave Power which dictated it, has been disarmed? How many Conservatives have been won to the Cause of the slaveholders? Their old allies in Boston hung their heads for shame. Not a voice was heard in apology for an act, whose enforcement is felt as a disgrace and humiliation. All over the free States, the indignation aroused by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, has been blown into a flame by this last demonstration.

We ask, in all earnestness, is it decent, is it safe, is it Democratic, to keep on the Statute Book, an act so revolting to the States in which it is intended specially to operate, that it is impossible to enforce it, unless at the point of the bayonet, with the whole military power of the Federal Government, amidst tumult and bloodshed? It needs no prophetic eye to foresee that, if this thing is to be continued, the Federal Government will become a stench in the nostrils of the People, and the States be driven to fall back on their extreme rights. Nothing now postpones this catastrophe, but the consciousness, on the part of the People of the free States, that they have the power, by an appeal to the ballot-box, to secure the control of the Federal Government, so that, until they have tried this, they are responsible for the unjust and oppressive exactions upon them, and have no excuse for resorting to revolutionary remedies.

INDIANA.—The *Lafayette Courier, Madison Courier, Princeton Clarion, and New Albany Ledger*, (all Democratic organs,) are dissatisfied with the proceedings at the recent Democratic State Convention, in endorsing the violation of twice-plighted faith, for the benefit of a Presidential aspirant, and call upon their Democratic cotemporaries not to fail to denounce the schemes of the political tricksters at Washington.

### "THE SAME LAW-BREAKING, SEDITIOUS BOSTON."

"Treason festers in Boston, and has its periodical eruptions. * * * * Boston now is the Boston it was in the last war with Great Britain; that it was when Shadrach was rescued, the same law-breaking, seditious Boston."—*Richmond (Va.) Examiner.*

Yes—the bad habits of the Revolution still cling to Boston, which now is as much hated by the Aristocracy of Slavery as it was by the Aristocracy of England, when Lord Grenville attempted to enforce the Stamp Act, and Lord North shut up its port, on account of its seditions. The prejudices of education are not quite overcome in that "law-breaking" city. Much allowance should be made for her unfortunate training in revolutionary times, under Hancock, Otis, and Adams. They had a way of resisting authority and speaking evil of dignities, which savored somewhat of sedition; indeed, it is safe to say that "Treason" began to "fester" in Boston so far back as the year 1764, when a town meeting of its citizens protested against Grenville's scheme of taxation without representation, and recommended a combination of the Colonies in defence of their common interests. It broke out into an "eruption" the next year, when stamps prepared in Great Britain, by order of the Central Power, were sent to Government officials in the Colonies, to sell them. There was a great elm in Boston, which the seditious opponents of the Stamp Act styled "Liberty Tree," under which they concocted their treasonable schemes, and on whose branches they sometimes hung effigies of persons conspicuous or their Administration zeal. Inflamed to desperation, one day, by the seditions harangues of self-styled patriots, the Liberty men went straightway to the house of Oliver, Secretary of the Colony, stamp-distributor for Massachusetts, pulled down a small building intended for a stamp-office, and frightened the official into a resignation. The pestiferous preachers were also at work. Jonathan Mayhew, a congregational minister, descended from his exalted place, to dabble in the dirty waters of politics, and preached a sermon against the Stamp Act, taking for his text, "I would they were even cut off, that trouble me!"

It is even suspected that Boston was the birthplace of that notorious order, called "Sons of Liberty," which everywhere busied itself in stirring up "sedition." Meantime, "Treason" continued to "fester," and there was another "eruption" in 1768. Certain Government officials, attempting to enforce some severe regulations of the Administration, on commerce, were obliged to seek shelter under cover of a company of British artillery, and a town meeting in Faneuil Hall demanded from the Governor the removal of the ship of war from the harbor.

To put down this "seditious" spirit, the Government ordered two regiments of soldiers from Halifax and two from Ireland, but the People, getting wind of it, sent out a notice for a convention of delegates from all the towns in the Province, to be held in Boston in ten days, advising all persons not provided with arms to procure them at once. After this, the troops arrived, and General Gage undertook to have them "quartered" at the expense of the town people, in accordance with instructions from the Home Government; but the "seditious" town set the instructions at defiance, refused them "lodging, bedding, firing," and the General was obliged to support them as he could. The English aristocracy hereupon was as much incensed as the *Examiner* is now, and denounced Boston as "factious and rebellious." Franklin wrote home—"Every man in England regards himself as a piece of a sovereign over America, seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of *our* subjects in the Colonies."

The soldiery of the Government being stationed in the street and about Faneuil Hall, to overawe the People, they became subject to all kinds of annoyances; and at last a collision took place, in which several "seditious, law-breaking" citizens were killed. Forthwith the misguided People assembled in town meeting, resolved that the troops must be removed, and appointed a committee to wait upon the Governor and the General, and make known their demands. Strange to say, the treasonable requisition was promptly complied with—the troops were removed.

So Treason continued to "fester," till the last great "eruption"—when fifty "seditious" persons, disguised as Mohawks, boarded the tea vessels in Boston harbor, on the evening of December 16, 1773, and in the course of two hours emptied three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the water.

Thus, for ten years, was Boston trained to sedition and law-breaking, and what is very curious, Virginia admired her deeds, responded to her appeals, and pledged the lives and property of its citizens to sustain her! The secret of this was—Boston was committed to the death against the exercise of arbitrary, unconstitutional power by the Administration in England. It was loyal, willing to obey just laws, but determined to maintain its rights against usurpation. This was why the Virginians of that day loved her, and stood shoulder to shoulder with her. Patrick Henry was himself as "seditious and law-breaking" as Hancock or Adams. There was no time, during that whole period, when a repeal of the unconstitutional laws of the Government, would not have allayed discontent, suppressed sedition, proved a complete remedy for Treason.

Grenville vindicated the Stamp Act, as the Government officials now vindicate the Fugitive Act. The noble Pitt denounced it, and denied its constitutionality. Grenville retorted, by charging upon the opposition of Pitt and his friends, the tumults, and violent resistance of the Americans. In the spirit of certain Pro-Slavery Senators of this day, he exclaimed—"The seditious spirit of the Colonies owes its birth to the faction in this House." What said the fearless Pitt—what were his opinions of the agitations and tumults aroused by unconstitutional and odious acts of Government?

"A charge is brought against gentlemen sitting in this House, of giving birth to sedition in America. The freedom with which they have spoken their sentiments against this unhappy act is imputed to them as a crime. [Grenville, doubtless, had his *Union*, a Court Journal, too.—*Ed. Era*] But the imputation shall not discourage me. We are told America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, *I rejoice that America has resisted.* Three millions of People so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. The Americans have been aroused. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No! Let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper; I will pledge myself for the Colonies, that, on their part, animosity and resentment will cease."

He who runs may read. Unless the Oligarchy of Slavery be given over to destruction, it will not emulate the Aristocracy of England, which persisted in its odious exactions till it compelled Revolution. But one thing, we repeat, prevents the resort to this extreme remedy now; and that is, the conviction among the People of the Free States that they have a peaceful mode of redress through the Ballot-Box, and that, till they have tried the full power of this, they themselves are responsible for the odious burdens imposed upon them by the Slave Power.

For the National Era.

### THE TWO WESLEYS;* OR, THE TWO WELLINGTONS.

BY ISAAC H. JULIAN.

One, of the iron frame, and heart of steel—
The Destroying Angel's peerless Minister—
Bruited o'er earth by Fame's loud trumpet-peal,
Strode proudly to the gory heights of War;
The other, with a will as firm, as bold
A spirit, and a heart of living flame,
To gather Christ's lost sheep into his fold,
To save and bless his erring species, came.
The one prevailed o'er Europe's Conqueror—
The other triumphed over Sin and Death:
Which was the Hero? Who's the nobler man?
Which did the richer legacy bequeath?
Eternity alone can fully tell,
When the dread JUDGE shall part the heirs of Heaven
and Hell!

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* It is something peculiar in the hand of Providence, that the John and Charles Wesley family had the offer of a large estate, but, fearing the temptation of riches, declined accepting it. The offer was then made to another Wesley, or Wellesley family, of which Arthur was the youngest son, and was accepted. It was this property and title, inherited by an older brother, which brought Arthur into public employment so very young. I have never doubted that the talents of John Wesley were equal to those of Arthur Wellesley, though exercised in a different occupation. But what a change, and what a misfortune in the world, if John Wesley had lived the rich Duke, in a formal, political religion, without a sermon, or a book, or any religious act of his, in the world!—*Advocate of Peace.*

### INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

This Convention met in Boston, at the Music Hall, on the 31st ult. A vast audience was in attendance, and the interest of the proceedings was enhanced by the scene then being enacted at the Court House.

Mr. Bird, chairman of the State Committee, calling the Convention to order, said that it was not its purpose to operate specially upon the Fugitive Case, but to organize the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the Commonwealth, and make it effectual against the Slave Power.

While the Committee on Nominations was preparing a list of officers, Joshua R. Giddings was loudly called for. He responded in a brief speech, in which, after some pungent allusions to the trial going on in sight of Bunker Hill, he spoke encouragingly of the prospects of the Anti-Slavery Cause.

"Even men, unexpected, stood up in the halls of Congress and represented this feeling. There were no better men there than Kittredge and Morrison of New Hampshire—they are even almost ready to swear they never belonged to the Democratic party. There was one universal feeling at Washington among Northern men for unanimous action upon the Slavery question. He never himself felt more confident of the speedy triumph of free sentiment than at the present time, though he never heretofore had seen an instance where the National Executive had set himself against the wishes of the North without success. He then alluded by instances to the powerful influence that the Administration exercised in behalf of the Nebraska bill. He recommended the driving out of these men from the highest to the lowest, by uniting our votes upon only those known to be liberty-loving men. Congressmen have been bought and sold at a much cheaper price than black men are knocked off in the South."

The Committee on Nominations reported a list of officers for the Convention, which was unanimously accepted. Theophilus P. Chandler, of Boston, was chosen President, assisted by numerous Vice Presidents; and, on taking the chair, made a few stirring remarks.

A Committee on Resolutions having been appointed, John P. Hale, in response to an enthusiastic call, addressed the meeting. He called upon the Convention to pass no new resolutions, but enforce the old ones. Boston, in 1768, when she had but 2,000 people, passed a resolution that the Stamp Act should not be enforced—and *it was not enforced.* Much had been said about resort to violence. The violence he recommended was the violence of the ballot-box.

"If we have any purpose, let us enforce it at the ballot-box. Let us not longer suffer this institution to tyrannize over us under the shadow of Bunker Hill. If the spirits of the departed have any cognizance over what is transpiring here, what must be the feelings of those who, on the 17th of June, 1775, vindicated their sincerity by their death, when told that the shaft erected over their bones, as the sun strikes it, sends its shadow over a city, where the habeas corpus and all other safeguards of liberty are trampled in the dust."

The Committee on Resolutions reported the following:

"*Resolved*, That in this crisis, when liberty seems doomed to utter destruction, unless the whole North is rallied to her defence, the Free Democracy are willing to relinquish all party considerations, to forget all past hostilities, to disregard all minor differences, to sacrifice everything but their principles, in order to secure an effectual union of true men against the mighty conspiracy of slaveholders and *doughfaces* that now threatens to overthrow the peace, the honor, and the Free Institutions of the country.

"*Resolved*, That so much of the Kansas and Nebraska Act as abrogates the Missouri Compromise, must be repealed.

"*Resolved*, That Slavery in the District of Columbia, must be abolished.

"*Resolved*, That Slavery must be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States, both in those to be acquired and in those already established.

"*Resolved*, That all new States must be free States.

"*Resolved*, That Cuba, if it comes into the Union, must come in free.

"*Resolved*, That the independence of Hayti must be acknowledged.

"*Resolved*, That the rights of our colored citizens, going to other States, must be protected.

"*Resolved*, That every man has a right to himself, and therefore no man can own another man.

"*Resolved*, That the Fugitive Slave Bill is destitute of every attribute of justice or humanity, is at war with the spirit of Liberty, with the principles of Law, with the purposes of the Constitution, with the best feelings of mankind, and ought therefore to be at once forever repealed.

"*Resolved*, That Massachusetts has the constitutional right, and it is her imperative duty, to enact laws which shall protect the personal freedom of all her citizens, and secure the right of trial by jury under all circumstances involving the question of human liberty."

Mr. Giddings then took the floor, and addressed the Convention in a speech, not yet reported. He was followed by Henry Wilson, in a most fervent appeal for the union of true men against the Slave Power. We have room only for extracts from his speech.

"I wish to be understood here, to-day, in regard to our position. We are ready to act with Democrats or Whigs to carry out our principles. We will forget organizations; we will go into the rear; we will do the work; if there is a 'forlorn hope' to be led, we will lead it, and others may fill the places of honor, if they will only be true to our principles, [great cheering;] but our principles must be engraved on their hearts, and written on their foreheads; and they must live by them forever. [Renewed cheering]

* * * * *

"The first duty we owe to the country is to exterminate—to *exterminate*—the forty-four Northern traitors in the House of Representatives at Washington. [Enthusiastic plaudits.]

* * * * *

"Our next duty is to sustain those Representatives from the North who voted against this Nebraska iniquity, and who will pledge themselves to the country and the world, that it shall be repealed. [Applause.]

* * * * *

"Then, we mean to repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill. [Enthusiastic cheering.] No man must represent the free States of the Union, unless he will consent to blot from the statute book of this republic an act that dishonors human nature, and disgraces the age in which we live. [Renewed applause.]

* * * * *

"I say to the Whig party of the free States: You have been betrayed by the Badgers, the Dawsons, the Toombses, and the Joneses of the South. Now is the hour to emancipate one million of Northern freemen, and put them on the side of Liberty. They cannot act with their Southern allies, without treason to their

☞ The Memphis, Charleston, Milledgeville, and other Southern Conventions, have all been self-constituted Southern Legislatures, looking exclusively after Southern interests, and sometimes talking loudly of disunion. Of late, however, there is more talk in the South of nationality. The nation now annexes slave territory, extends the area of slavery, and catches and restores fugitives from slavery. The Yankees are a very useful people. The slaveholders cannot spare them. The Union is safe now.

### "A PLAN FOR FREEDOM"—"SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY."

At the last session of the Legislature of Massachusetts, an act of incorporation was granted for an "EMIGRANT AID SOCIETY," the corporators being Benjamin C. Clark, Isaac Livermore, Charles Allen, Isaac Davis, William G. Bates, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles C. Hazewell, Alexander H. Bullock, Henry Wilson, James S. Whitney, Samuel E. Sewall, Samuel G. Howe, James Holland, Moses Kimball, James D. Green, Francis W. Bird, Otis Clapp, Anson Burlingame, Eli Thayer, and Otis Rich, their associates, successors, and assigns.

The great object is, to assist emigrants to settle the Western Territories, thereby propagating Freedom and Free Labor. The capital stock is not to exceed $5,000,000, to be invested in real or personal estate, provided not more than $20,000 be invested in real estate in Massachusetts.

"Sec. 3. The capital stock of said corporation shall be divided into shares of $100 each; but no more than $4 on the share shall be assessed during the year 1854, and no more than $10 on the share shall be assessed in any one year thereafter.

"Sec. 4. At all meetings of the stockholders, each stockholder shall be entitled to cast one vote for each share held by him: provided that no stockholder shall be entitled to cast more than fifty votes on shares held by himself, nor more than fifty votes by proxy."

May 10th, the Corporators met at the State House of Boston, and appointed Eli Thayer, A. H. Bullock, E. E. Hale, of Worcester, Richard Hildreth, and Otis Clapp, of Boston, a committee, to report a plan of operations. From their report the *Tribune* copies the following extracts, showing the general objects of the Association, and the mode by which they are to be attained.

"REPORT.

* * * * * * * *

"The Emigrant Aid Company has been incorporated to protect emigrants, as far as may be, from the inconveniences we have enumerated. Its duty is to *organize emigration to the West, and bring it into a system.* This duty, which should have been attempted long ago, is particularly essential now, in the critical position of the western Territories.

"The Legislature has granted a charter, with a capital sufficient for these purposes. This capital is not to exceed $5,000,000. In no single year are assessments to a larger amount than ten per cent. to be called for. The corporators believe that if the Company be organized at once, as soon as the subscription to the stock amounts to $1,000,000, the annual income to be derived from that amount, and the subsequent subscriptions, may be so appropriated as to render most essential service to the emigrant; to plant a free State in Kansas, to the lasting advantage of the country; and to return a very handsome profit to the stockholders upon their investment.

* * * * * * * *

"To accomplish the object in view, it is recommended, 1st, that the Directors contract immediately with some one of the competing lines of travel for the conveyance of 20,000 persons from the Northern and Middle States, to that place in the West which the Directors shall select for their first settlement.

"It is believed that passage may be obtained, in so large a contract, at half the price paid by individuals. We recommend that emigrants receive the full advantage of this diminution of price, and that they be forwarded in companies of two hundred, as they apply, at these reduced rates of travel.

"2. It is recommended that at such points as the Directors select for places of settlement, they shall at once construct a boarding-house or receiving-house—in which three hundred persons may receive temporary accommodation on their arrival—and that the number of such houses be enlarged as necessity may dictate. The new comers or their families may thus be provided for, in the necessary interval which elapses while they are making their selection of a location.

"3. It is recommended that the Directors procure and send forward steam saw-mills, grist-mills, and such other machines as shall be of constant service in a new settlement, which cannot, however, be purchased or carried out conveniently by individual settlers. These machines may be leased or run by the company's agents. At the same time, it is desirable that a printing press be sent out, and a weekly newspaper established. This would be the organ of the company's agents; would extend information regarding its settlement, and be from the very first an index of that love of freedom and of good morals, which it is to be hoped may characterize the State now to be formed.

"4. It is recommended that the company's agents locate and take up for the company's benefit the sections of land in which the boarding-house and mills are located, and no others. And further, that whenever the Territory shall be organized as a free State, the Directors shall dispose of all its interests, then replace by the sales the money laid out, declare a dividend to the stockholders; and,

"5. That they then select a new field, and make similar arrangements for the settlement and organization of another free State of this Union.

* * * * * * * *

"Under the plan proposed, it will be but two or three years before the Company can dispose of its property in the Territory first occupied—and reimburse itself for its first expenses. At that time—in a State of 70,000 inhabitants, it will possess several reservations of 640 acres each—on which its boarding houses and mills stand—and the churches and school-houses which it has rendered necessary. From these centres will the settlements of the State have radiated. In others words, these points will then be the large commercial positions of the new State. If there were only one such—its value, after the region should be so far peopled, would make a very large dividend to the company which sold it, besides restoring its original capital, with which to enable it to attempt the same adventure elsewhere.

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"It is recommended that a meeting of the stockholders be called on the first Wednesday in June, to organize the company for one year; and the corporators, at this time, make a temporary organization, with power to obtain subscriptions to the stock and make any necessary preliminary arrangements.

"ELI THAYER, *for the Committee.*"

A temporary organization was effected, by the choice of Eli Thayer, of Worcester, as President, and Dr. Thomas H. Webb, of Boston, Secretary. A meeting was held to sustain it, at Worcester, at which encouraging letters were read from members of Congress. Books of subscription were opened in Boston, Worcester, and New York. In Washington, influential members of Congress are going zealously into the movement. In New York, the friends of Freedom have hailed it with delight. A preliminary meeting was held at the Astor House last week, at which President King, of Columbia College presided. The *Tribune* says:

"There was quite a full attendance of gentlemen, who felt a deep interest in the subject. A committee were appointed to superintend the business of obtaining subscriptions, and to represent the subscribers in the meeting of the Society, to be held in Boston on Wednesday next. The meeting was not of a nature to warrant the publication of all the details of its proceedings, nor is it necessary. The object is already fully understood, and the meeting addressed itself to its furtherance by such measures as were thought best adapted to the purpose. When its organization and acts are more fully matured, we shall be able to give further details.

"We are in receipt of additional letters, making inquiries and tendering further subscriptions. The plan is received by all with pre-eminent favor, and enlists the warmest sympathies of the friends of Freedom."

The movement is a popular movement in behalf of popular institutions. The Slaveholders and Non-Slaveholders are now brought face to face, and the struggle is, who shall possess the Territories—the owners of labor, or the laborers themselves; an Oligarchy of not more than four hundred thousand masters of slaves, or twenty millions of People whose best interests are trampled upon by Slavery. Let "the Emigrant Aid Society" be everywhere welcomed and sustained, and no time be lost in carrying out its plans.

But, let not emigrants who can help themselves, await the operation of this Association. Let them follow the example of the five hundred Germans, who have already gone from Cincinnati to Kansas. That is the Territory first to settle. Secure Kansas, and Nebraska will be safe. Since we are to have "Squatter Sovereignty," let us have free-limbed, free-souled, squatters. Let the freemen of the West, let the men of North Carolina, Kentucky, and Missouri, who have been kept down by the crushing competition of Slave Labor, pour into the Territory, and establish Free Labor institutions, so that they may sit under their own vines and their own fig-trees.

The *Tribune* says:

"It will be seen that a meeting of the stockholders is to be held on the first Wednesday of June, at Boston. Meantime, subscriptions can be made by those who desire to do so, at the office of this paper, either by letter or in person. The co-operation of the friends of the enterprise in this city is earnestly desired, and a gentleman from Massachusetts is now in town for the purpose of obtaining it. It is expected that, after the permanent organization of the company is effected, on the 7th of June, public meetings will be held in Boston and this city, and elsewhere, to further the objects of the undertaking. The spirit which has been aroused throughout the free States by the perfidy of our rulers, is such that we cannot entertain a doubt that, under proper auspices, the society in question will not only enlist the co-operation of our principal cities, but that of the innumerable flourishing towns and villages scattered throughout the free States."

## LITERARY NOTICES.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April, 1854. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

The contents of this number are—Results of the Census of 1851; Manners and Fashions; Archbishop Whately, on Christianity; Criminal Legislation and Prison Discipline; Lord Campbell as a Writer of History; Schamyl, the Prophet Writer of the Caucasus; Thomas De Quincy and his Works; the Balance of Power in Europe; Contemporary Literature.

EDINBURGH REVIEW for April, 1854. Published and for sale as above.

*Contents.*—Mormonism; John Locke; History of French Protestant Refugees; Memoirs of Moore; the National Gallery Report; Recent Italian Autobiographies; the Judges on Codification; Consumption of Food in the United Kingdom.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, April, 1854. Published and for sale as above.

*Contents*—Commercial Results of a War with Russia; the Prophets of all Nations; the Quiet Heart; Chronological Curiosities; the Reform Bills of 1852 and 1854; the Blue Book and the Eastern Question; Life in the Sahara; the Cost of the Coalition Ministry.

The reader will see from the tables presented, that these British periodicals contain many articles on profoundly interesting subjects.

☞ We lately received a fine collection of Music, from Horace Waters, No. 333 Broadway, New York, one of our most enterprising music publishers. Among the pieces, are "the Modern Belle," a favorite of the Hutchinson family, arranged for the Piano; "the Baltimore Clipper Valse," by JULLIEN; "Angel Whispers," as sung by Mrs. Bostwich; "O, I'se so wicked!" as sung by Mrs. C. C. Howard; the "Tournament Gallop," &c.

For the National Era.

## THE NEBRASKA BILL—NO. 3.

MR. DOUGLAS'S LETTER TO MR. BURKE—HIS DENIAL THAT HE PROPOSES TO REVIVE AND RE-ESTABLISH SLAVERY—INDIAN WRONGS.

Mr. Douglas, the ostensible author of the bill, but, if I am rightly informed, the ostensible only—the scheme having, in fact, had a Cabinet origin—has likewise written a letter. More daring, and at the same time more discreet, than his compeer, he eschews argument, and deals only in bold assertion and angry denunciation.

He affirms that it is a malicious falsehood that he proposes to carry slavery into the Territories; that, so far from that, the bill declares, and, indeed, it is a part of the *record!* that it does not touch slavery at all, legislates it neither in nor out; but proposes simply to establish in the Territories "the great fundamental principle of Democracy and free institutions, which lies at the basis of our creed," and "trusts the people with the great, sacred, fundamental right of prescribing their own institutions." He even avows that to establish slavery would be "a violation of the Constitution, and of his oath," and "fix the brand of infamy" upon his brow. He denounces, as "a falsifier of the *record*," and "a calumniator," an old and distinguished Democratic leader in New Hampshire, for saying—and declares that every soul ought to be branded with those names, who shall dare to say—that the effect of the bill will be to "revive and re-establish slavery;" and he applies in this letter, as he did in the Senate, to all such statements, the epithets, "fraud," "falsehood," "wicked and unpardonable slander."

The people of the United States, from an early period, have had laws to protect the Indians against unlicensed traders, intrusions upon their lands, and the innumerable frauds and injuries to which they would be constantly exposed, if the intercourse of whites with them were not limited and regulated by law. Suppose that an act organizing a Territory should repeal these humane and salutary restraints, would not a flock of caitiffs gather, with the instinct of vultures, and pounce upon these poor and abused people?

It is a fact, too notorious, that there exists, and always has existed, in this wide country, a numerous class of persons, the reproach of one race and the scourge of the other, who have made the Aborigines their prey, wherever they could gain access to them—cheating, robbing, demoralizing, and destroying them without pity. These have been the representatives, *not unfrequently clothed in official robes*, by whom Christian civilization has approached the simple and unsuspecting children of nature, the once proud, happy, and, for their own safety, too hospitable proprietors of this continent. These are the men who consummate the work of fraud by summoning to their aid the arm of force, and completing by war the plunder and ruin which they commence in peace.

I believe it to be a well-authenticated fact, that when other means of provoking a conflict have failed, they have disguised themselves as Indians, and murdered whole families of white settlers; and then, having washed the paint from their faces and the blood from their hands, have hastened to arouse the nearest settlement and the nearest garrison to vengeance. A paragraph goes the rounds of the presses, headed "*More Indian Atrocities*," soon to be succeeded by a "*Terrible Chastisement*," containing most likely a glowing account of the heroic butchery enacted, and the immortal honors won by the *very men* who largely caused, if they did not directly plot, these unutterable horrors. This is all that we hear of the war. But in due time the editor of the New Vandalia *Old Driver*, late Government schoolmaster among the Indians, edifies the nation with an announcement substantially as follows:

"It is with undisguised satisfaction and unmingled pride, and indeed with an uproarious outburst of patriotic exultation, that we announce to this brave and patriotic community, to those who go in for Democratic progress and annexation generally, and to the enlightened friends of the imprescriptible rights of man everywhere in particular, that the United States Commissioners, consisting of the honorable Mr. Toadeater of Michigan, the honorable Mr. Rootemout of Illinois, and General Cutemup of Iowa, who was so honorably distinguished in the late contest with the savage, have just concluded a most advantageous treaty with the chiefs and head men of our late deadly enemies, the Kickthebuckets, whereby three millions of acres of their *reservation* have been surrendered to the United States.

"It is a subject of unbounded rejoicing and heartfelt congratulation to the inhabitants of this Territory, as no doubt it will be to all the patriotic citizens of this great country, that these *most valuable* lands are now *exclusively* ours, and the cause of hostility thus happily removed."

Fortunately for us, the Indian does not write history, but he does hand it down; and it has created such an utter distrust and so settled a hate, that access to his soul seems to have been long barred against us. It may well be that the cause of the indifferent success which has attended most of our efforts for their improvement *lies here*, and not, *as is pretended*, in an unnatural and invincible aversion to knowledge, art, and refinement. I will never believe that these can be uncongenial to the mind of any human being, if his confidence is secured and his affections won by justice and beneficence. I once knew a dispenser of instruction and charity, who was sent by the Quakers among the New York Indians, and became greatly beloved and respected by them. On a visit to his white friends, unaccompanied by his wife, he was asked if he was not afraid to leave her behind, during so long an absence "No," he replied, "there are six Indians in the house with her." Gerrit Smith, that noble friend of his kind, told me, many years ago, that he had Indian neighbors, who were skillful, industrious, and prosperous farmers; and he esteemed them among the honestest of men. Their word was as good as a bond.

It would be natural that the authors of such crimes should feel a remorse so deep and corroding that life would become a burden, and every bush seem a minister of justice, and that they would long to quit the light of heaven and the converse of men, to be hidden under the earth which their crimes have polluted.

Unhappily, it is far otherwise. They thrive by crime, and often glory in it. A respectable neighbor of mine, a returned Californian, gave me, within a few days ago, the following narrative: A murder and robbery was committed within the mining grounds at Shasta. The murderers were traced to an Indian village. No attempt was made to ascertain the guilty individuals, much less to investigate the circumstances and the provocation, if any there were. An expedition was immediately got up, marched to the village, and massacred indiscriminately all the men. One of the party, on his return, boasted of this as his share in the achievements of the day: He saw an old man standing in the door of his cabin; he levelled his rifle, and shot him. He fell backwards, within the hut. The assassin, having reloaded his gun, advanced cautiously, apprehensive that there might be other Indians, capable of defence, concealed there. On reaching the door, he found none but the old man, and a young girl supporting *him* in her arms. He poked his rifle to the old man's head and blew out his brains, and they spattered in the girl's face.

Such things are continually occurring there, and in Texas, Utah, and Oregon; but they attract less attention and excite less interest in this pious, speculating, and slave-driving, Christian country, than the annual slaughter and packing at Cincinnati.

I observe, with grief, but without much surprise, that a Senator of the United States, from Iowa, has recently boasted, in his place, that he has always treated Mr. Jefferson's law, to prevent intrusion upon Indian territory, with contempt. His words are reported as follows:

"There was a law passed in Jefferson's time, against settling in Indian territories, and yet he and the senior Senator from Wisconsin had violated it nearly one half of their lives. His father had not only gone on Indian territory, but had built forts to protect the settlements, and had often loaded guns to protect them. The people of the Territories would not be controlled by such prohibitions."

"Built forts on Indian territory to protect the settlements!" So the settlements were on Indian territory, too! Aye, and it was that, and that only, which made the forts necessary. "Had often loaded guns!" How dainty and diabolical! Here is an index to history. Is there none who is capable and willing to furnish us with the volume? *Black Hawk* is gone, and cannot enlighten us, but this singular and interesting avowal may be the means of throwing new light and new lustre upon his history and his name.

While I was writing some general observations upon our relation to the Aborigines, I little expected that proof and illustration from such a source would come to my hand before I rose from the table! It was natural that such a person should go for oppression in general, for the violation of compact, and the Douglas bill. There is a *commune vinculum* between the vices. That law of Jefferson was enacted simply to enforce treaties, into which Washington and his successors had entered with the Indians, with the express approbation of both Houses of Congress—treaties by which we had obtained immense and invaluable grants of territory, *on condition* of guarantying to the grantors *forever* the *exclusive* and *unmolested* possession and enjoyment of that which they *reserved*.

The *Puritans*, adopting for their pattern the barbarous Israelites, considered themselves the chosen and favored instruments of exterminating the Canaanites of the New World. They thought the heathen were given for their inheritance. The *Cavaliers* thought all men, including the Puritans, were given for theirs. Between the piety of the one and the impiety of the other, the Indians have had a horrid fate. They have been ground between the upper and the nether millstone. Both have been true to their prejudices, and both false to their treaties; and perhaps Providence righteously designs, as the only adequate punishment, that they shall mutually scourge each other. The North now receives the lash "well laid on," at the instruction of the South by the hand of deserters. But John Quincy Adams, when he was bound and gagged, muttered, "it will not always be so."

The Hon. Samuel Houston, probably the best living authority on the subject, is reported to have lately declared, in a public address at Providence, Rhode Island, that in the course of his long experience and extensive observation in relation to Indian affairs, he had never known a treaty to be broken by them in the first instance. I rejoice to see such a man bearing testimony in behalf of a hunted people. I trust he will follow up this benevolent beginning. I regret that he neglected to do it in the Senate on the occasion to which I have alluded. He owes the world an atonement for the wrongs and miseries which he has been the main instrument of inflicting upon another race.

STRIKE, BUT HEAR.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## SLAVERY, NOW EXISTING IN NEBRASKA.

A communication in another column, from Richard Mendenhall, a mission teacher residing in Kansas, shows that Slavery already exists in that Territory, carried there and fostered there by missionaries of the Methodist Church South, among whom is Mr. Johnson, who has made himself quite busy in Washington this session. The statements of Mr. Mendenhall are worthy of the most serious attention.

This Methodist Church South may be regarded as a mission association for the spread of Slavery. During the struggle in California, a year or two since, for the introduction of Slavery, its newspaper organ in that State took ground against the Anti-Slavery opposition to that movement. And, as it seems by the following paragraph in the *National Intelligencer*, the Church has at last expunged from its discipline its old article about Slavery, thus renouncing the creed of the fathers of the Church.

"The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in session at Columbus, Georgia, on the 25th ult. expunged from the Book of Discipline all those parts which condemn the institution of Slavery. The vote on expunging is said to have been unanimous, with a single exception. The general rule, forbidding 'the purchasing of men, women, and children, with the intention to enslave them,' and which has reference to the African slave trade, was retained, though the vote upon the expurgation, even of this rule, was 47 to 54."

That the missionaries of such a Church should propagate and foster Slavery in Kansas, or anywhere else, is precisely what might be expected.

## ANTI-SLAVERY PROTEST OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The following Protest against the action of the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, New School, now in session at Philadelphia, upon the subject of Slavery, was read:

*Protest on the Subject of Slavery.*—The undersigned respectfully protest against the action of the General Assembly upon the report of the Committee on Bills and Overtures of several Presbyteries relative to the subject of slavery; because that action, under the circumstances, is virtually saying to the Presbyteries in the slaveholding States, that the action of the last preceding General Assembly, in requesting "distinct and full statements" touching the three points there specified, is not approved by this General Assembly, and that the present Assembly is satisfied with the neglect and refusal to answer those inquiries, and does not deem them even of sufficient importance to the peace or purity of the Church to repeat the request for an answer at the next General Assembly; also, because it will and must be construed into a willingness to cease all direct effort to disconnect itself from the sin of slavery, and in this particular is a receding from the high and laudable position heretofore assumed; and for the further reason that it places this branch of the Christian Church in the apparent position of diminishing its efforts to eradicate a great and growing evil, at the very period when the efforts for its extension and perpetuity are strongest and most reprehensible, as well as unscrupulous, and when there is, also, the best prospect for the labors of the Church to be successful, and has the appearance of being willing to abandon the field, rather than stem the flood of iniquity rolling in upon the Church and the country.

The Protest was signed by twenty-eight members. After some discussion, the Protest was ordered to be entered upon the minutes.

From the New York Evening Post.

## THE DOMINICAN INTRIGUE AND THE DOMINICAN COMMISSIONER.

Mr. William L. Cazneau has published a letter in the *Herald* of this city, in which he admits the material portions of our statement, made a few days since, in reference to the intrigue on foot for the recognition of the negro republic of Dominica. He admits that he was sent to St. Domingo by the Administration, and that his object was, and is, to assist the Dominican republic in obtaining "its deserved and honored place in the family of free American States."

We have now the authority of the Commissioner himself for saying, that the acquisition of Dominica was the object of his mission last winter, and is a part of the avowed policy of the present Administration; the resolution of which Mr. Douglas gave notice a few days since in the Senate, being the most recent stage in the proceedings.

We are glad to have this admission from so competent a witness as Mr. Cazneau, for it relieves the press and public men from the tedious task of disputing about the truth of our statements, and puts them at once to the consideration and discussion of the proposed policy of the Government.

Now, we repeat what we believe we have already stated, that we have no objection whatever to the recognition of Dominica, provided it be made upon a principle and under a general law covering all similar applications. We do object to her admission upon any other terms, and especially upon the terms which, we perceive, are to be set up as a ground for excepting Dominica from a rule of legislation which is rigorously enforced against the neighboring Empire of Hayti and the more distant Colony of Liberia. If the President and Senate of the United States are prepared to recognise the independence of all Governments *de facto*, without inquiring into pending international disputes, we say very well; or, if they are disposed to except from the operation of the rule those Governments which are under the rule of Africans or the descendants of Africans, why, the rule is illiberal and impolitic, but still it is consistent, and perhaps the country might sustain them; but the country will not sustain them in recognising one negro Government, and refusing the like courtesy to another which has ten times the population, and with which the United States has more than twenty times the commerce.

We infer from Mr. Cazneau's letter, that it is the intention of the Dominican party to claim that Dominica and Hayti are under the control of different races, and that it is the interests of whites for which they are so much concerned. In reply to our statement that the Dominican is not less a negro Government than the Haytien, he says:

"It (the *Evening Post*) ought to know, that there is not *a negro* in the Dominican Cabinet or Congress, and that in none of the Spanish American States is *a smaller number* of colored officials."

Mr. Cazneau and ourselves may differ about the use of the word "negro." We used it in its common acceptation in the United States, as applying to all who are under civil disabilities of any kind from their African blood. It is not customary among those whom we addressed, to distinguish so nicely between the negroes and the colored classes, because they all stand on a par before the law, and have felt with equal rigor the pressure of that international policy of our Government in reference to Africans, to which we have referred.

We presume Mr. Cazneau will not pretend that President Santana is a white man, or that President Baez, whom Santana succeeded, was a white man. We presume no one understood us as saying that the President of Dominica, or his Cabinet, were aboriginal or pure-blooded Africans; neither do we understand Mr. Cazneau to say or believe that there is a full-blooded white man holding any post of political responsibility about the Dominican Government. He knows, if he has been there, as well as we, that its affairs are as much—quite as much—under the control of men of color, as the Administration at Washington is under the control of whites.

Mr. Cazneau also knows—or if he does not, we know what is equally material to this question—that in all Dominica, with a population of from seventy-five to a hundred thousand, there are not two hundred and fifty whites, all told, sailors and diplomatists included. What folly to talk of a white Republic in such a country! It would be a far more legitimate use of language to call the United States a black Republic.

No! it is well known that Dominica is inhabited, so far as it is inhabited at all, by colored people, without industry, enterprise, character, or courage; that a few emigrants from the United States could easily, and without a resisting struggle, change the constitution, and convert the country into a market for American slaves. Mr. Calhoun had these facts distinctly in view when he sent Hogan down there on a secret mission, during the administration of Mr. Tyler; and the fag ends of the old Nullification party, of which he was then the head, are now using the present Administration as their instruments in carrying out his schemes, then formed, but not fully developed—schemes which contemplated the multiplication of slave States, and slave representation in Congress, until that interest shall be strong enough either to universalize Slavery in the United States by laws and judicial decisions, or force the North to take the place of the old Nullifiers, and become secessionists. That was Mr. Calhoun's highest aspiration for his country; that we believe to be the well-defined purpose of those who are now shaping the diplomatic policy of our Government in Mexico, Cuba, Dominica, and Central America. They hope to establish a great Southern Confederacy, where they and their slaves can take their ease, without any disturbance from a free press, free legislation, and a moral and humane public sentiment.

For the National Era.

## SLAVERY NOW EXISTING IN NEBRASKA.

In any ordinary case, I should be very loth to expose a brother missionary; but the case now before us is one of so monstrous a character as to forbid longer silence.

It may not be generally known, that there is in this Territory an extensive missionary establishment, under the direction and control of the Methodist Church South, at which *slaves have long been kept to do the menial service of the mission.* These slaves have been kept here in *utter disregard of the Missouri Compromise*, by which Slavery was forever prohibited here.

It would seem, to a candid thinker, a difficult matter to conceive a grosser inconsistency than to go forth to preach Christianity to the heathen, and to carry slaves along to assist in the glorious work. Thus, while they would hold up the gospel to the heathen with one hand, with the other they bind fast the yoke of bondage on the neck of the poor slave. How can they show any consistency in such a monstrous absurdity? On what grounds should one portion of the human family be degraded and heathenized, to elevate and enlighten another?

But, to come nearer to the point—Thomas Johnson, the superintendent of this slaveholding mission, by adroit management, was elected, last fall, a Delegate to Congress from this Territory, or, rather, was sent to Washington to attend to matters pertaining to the various tribes of Indians here, preparatory to selling their lands and organizing a Territorial Government. He has been at Washington during the present session of Congress, where he has been using all his influence to secure the passage of Douglas's Nebraska bill; and he has not scrupled to make unfair statements, to promote his ends. He is using his utmost endeavors to induce those Indians to sell out their lands entire—a thing which they are very unwilling to do, and which would be very disastrous to their best interests.

They have emigrated, to make room for the white man, until they can go no further. There are no lands suitable for them. Most of the vast region between this and the Rocky Mountains is a barren desert, and wholly unfit for cultivation. These Indians are disposed to sell all the land they do not need; but they wish to be allowed to remain here in peace and quiet, for they know not where to go. But this Christian missionary would send them away, does he care whither? It is believed that he intends to secure to himself a fat portion of these poor Indians' lands. And he would plant Slavery here; yes, has introduced it here, in violation of the laws of the land. And yet, we are to believe that he is a minister of the Gospel of Christ.

Friends of Freedom! Help! If ye ever intend to fight for Liberty, buckle on your armor, for the time is at hand.

RICHARD MENDENHALL,
*Mission Teacher.*

*Friends' Shawnee Mission,*
*Kansas Territory, 5th mo. 14, 1854.*

## IMPORTANT NEWS FROM EUROPE.

The steamer Asia arrived at New York yesterday, bringing Liverpool dates of May 20th, and 162 passengers.

The Arctic struck on Tuscan Rock on Thursday morning, and was obliged to put back to Liverpool, and will probably be ready for sea in a week. Her passengers waited for her.

A despatch dated Paris, May 18, states that Revel had been bombarded by Napier. The report is considered unreliable.

The Russian fleet had left Helsingfors, to join the division lying at Cronstadt.

The Cologne *Gazette* says the Emperor of Russia had had a relapse of illness. The inhabitants of St. Petersburgh were obliged to find quarters for the troops, and there are in the environs of the city 20,000 Cossacks.

It is stated that the Russian Government has insured the Greek Government a subscription of 1,000,000 drachmas per month. It is also stated that the Greek Government had granted letters of marque to the pirates who at present infest the Levant.

Napier lay twenty-five miles from Cronstadt, to intercept the Russian fleet from Helsingfors.

The Turkish fleet had entered the Black sea, to destroy all the Russian positions on the Circassian coast.

The plan of the campaign resolved upon by the allies was said to be the invasion of Russia proper.

The Turks had achieved two victories on the Danube.

The position of Austria was decidedly hostile to Russia. She had called out 100,000 men to defend the frontier from the Russians.

It was reported that the Vienna Conference was to be received on the basis of the Austro-Prussian and Anglo-French Alliance.

The difficulty between Spain and the United States excites great attention. Mr. Soulé has sent a messenger in the Asia, with despatches to the Government.

*Liverpool, May* 20.—The cotton market has been dull, at a decline of 1-16*d.* a ⅛*d.* in middling and lower grades.

Breadstuffs were in active speculative demand, at an advance of 1*s.* 6*d.* a 2*s* 6*d.* per barrel in flour, 2*s.* per quarter in corn, and 4*d.* per quarter in wheat.

Consols closed at 89⅛. American stocks quiet.

*Vienna, May* 20.—A Government messenger reached Galatz on May 11, with reliable intelligence that Sebastopol had been bombarded for four days by the allied fleets.

*Bucharest, May* 15.—The English steamer Tiger, of 16 guns, had stranded close to Odessa, and been captured by the Russians. Two other steamers went to her relief, and bombarded the Russian works, but with little effect.

A general rising was expected in Montenegro in favor of Russia. Six hundred Montenegrins had made their way into Turkish territory, and killed a number of inhabitants.

Colonel Salimen Bey had defeated the Russians at Kradova.

The *Vienna Gazette* states, that in consequence of the great concentration of troops on the northeastern and eastern frontiers of Austria, 95,000 recruits had been raised. This measure was considered as a declaration of Austria not to be bullied by the Russians.

The general depot of the Russian artillery and stores at Fort Chony has been burnt by the inhabitants, from a feeling of revenge. The loss is immense.

A terrible fire occured at Constantinople on the 4th, which destroyed 400 houses. It caused immense panic and distress.

Twenty Russian ships have been captured since the bombardment of Odessa.

The Russians had commenced the bombardment of Silistria, with eighty pieces of cannon.

The evacuation of Lesser Wallachia had been suspended.

It is said that Prussia and Austria have made a proposition to Russia, which may be accepted, but England and France will decline it.

The Russian troops were on the march from St. Petersburgh towards Warsaw.

About 18,000 Russian troops were put *hors du combat* by the epidemic on the Dubrodscha.

*Norway.*—The leprosy was spreading so rapidly in Norway, that fears were entertained of its becoming a general sickness.

Great scarcity of money and much commercial distress was felt at St. Petersburgh.

Provisions, together with all kinds of necessaries and luxuries were extremely high.

The Spanish Minister has refused the compensation demanded by the United States for the detention of the steamer Black Warrior, and will make no concession beyond remitting the penalty of $6,000.

The *Liverpool Times* expresses the belief that a war between the United States and Spain is inevitable.

Twenty-two ships of the Turkish fleet had entered the Black Sea.

It is reported that Austria has ordered her armies at Gallyra, in Italy, to prepare for war.

The Augsburg *Gazette* states that the last demonstration by Russia on the frontier of Transylvania was occasioned by an intimation from Austria that an advance towards the passes of Gallacia would be regarded as a cause of war. Russia responds by ordering 70,000 men to be stationed between the rivers Sereth and Pruth. Austria immediately distributed 90,000 troops in Transylvania, Gallacia, and Moravia.

The plan of the campaign by the allied forces includes the attack of Sebastopol by land and water, raising an insurrection in Crimea and Circassia, as soon as Suchem Kalea, Redoubt Kalsh, and Anapa, have been bombarded by the fleets.

The Paris correspondent of the London *Times* says, that during a recent interview granted to a foreign diplomatic agent, on his way to a distant mission, the Emperor Napoleon is said to have expressed himself on the prospect of aggrandizement attributed to the Americans against the Spanish colonies, and manifested his decided disapprobation of the ambitious, encroaching spirit, which characterized the American Government.

He declared that his foreign policy was based on the faithful observance of treaties, and opposed to all attempts on the part of any Power to take advantage of the weakness of a neighbor, to rob it of territory; and it is said that assurances were given that Spain had nothing to fear about Cuba.

Intelligence from the Falkland Islands state that the United States corvette Germantown had demanded from Her British Majesty's brig Express some prisoners that the latter had detained, for trespassing on the British fishing grounds. The captain of the Express refused to deliver them, when the captain of the Germantown wrote an imperious demand for them, threatening that if not complied with, he would fire into the Express, and beat to quarters, and run his guns out.

The captain of the Express, however, maintained his position, and delivered up the prisoners to the civil authorities, by whom they were fined. The affair is stated to have occasioned some acrid correspondence between the United States Consul and British authorities, which has been forwarded to their respective Governments.

## SPAIN.

The English papers contain the following:

"The Spanish Government has sent in an answer to Mr. Soulé, who has despatched the same by a special messenger to the United States. It is reported that the American Government have offered to abandon all their reclamations against Spain, if the latter will cede her African possession, Melilla, to the United States."

The other news from Spain is of an interesting caste. Six thousand men are immediately to embark, in three divisions of two thousand each, for Porto Rico, there to be drafted for service, where wanted. This force will raise the garrison of Cuba to 30,000 of the best troops of Spain.

A decree in the Madrid *Gazette* authorizes the firm of Zangronig & Co. to establish a line of eight steamers between Havana and Havre, or Liverpool, or any other ports of France and England.

*The Black Warrior Difficulty Settled.*—A Paris correspondent states that a functionary of the Spanish Department of Foreign Affairs left Madrid on the 11th of May, for the United States, with a despatch to the Spanish Minister at Washington, containing a definite settlement of the difference in the case of the Black Warrior. It is further stated, that the fine of $6,000, imposed upon the Black Warrior by the Cuban authorities, has been remitted by the Spanish Government.

## THE BOSTON FUGITIVE CASE—CLOSING SCENES.

We append a further account of yesterday's proceedings:

*Boston, June* 2.—The Mayor has issued a proclamation, urging the people to disperse, and warning them that he has given to Major Edmonds and the Chief of Police discretionary powers to sustain the laws, with all the military and civil forces at their command.

*Twelve M.*—The American flag, draped in mourning, is displayed across State street.

But for the United States troops, a desperate attempt at rescue would be made.

*Half past twelve o'clock.*—A military line of State troops extends from the Court House Square to the line of the wharf. In some cases, the pressure of the crowd, and their groans and hisses, have caused collisions.

The colored pastor of the Baptist church, and Burns's counsel, took leave of him at 12 o'clock.

There is full 20,000 persons in State and Court streets. Application has been made to the Mayor for privilege to toll the bells, which was refused.

*One o'clock.*—Court street has been cleared of the mob, after much trouble, and all the streets leading into it are guarded by troops.

Wm. Jones, a witness on the trial, has been arrested for using exciting language. He was taken up State street by the police, and enthusiastically cheered all the way, whilst the police were greeted with groans and hisses.

*Half past two o'clock.*—Burns, the fugitive, has just been taken from the Court House, under a guard of 200 men, armed with swords and pistols, being the Marshal's special deputies, together with three companies of United States troops, including the artillery detachment with a nine-pounder and a field-piece.

The Boston Light Dragoons and Lancers followed, and the artillery and infantry companies of the first brigade of State militia.

Groans, hisses, and yells, were poured upon the line as it passed.

*Four o'clock.*—Burns was escorted to the wharf between two and three o'clock, where he was put on board the steamer John Taylor, and conveyed to the revenue cutter Morris, lying in the stream, which was immediately towed to sea. He goes direct to Norfolk. He was escorted to the wharf by 1,200 troops, together with 150 citizens, said to be the Bay State Club, each armed with a cutlass and revolvers. No serious outbreak occurred.

*Six o'clock.*—The cutter Morris, Capt. Whitcomb, was at 6½ o'clock 20 miles below, with Burns, the fugitive, on board, in charge of Deputy U. S. Marshal John H. Riley, and four assistants. Col. Suttle of Alexandria, and Mr. Brent of Richmond, are also on board the Morris. The wind is fair. Burns is sea-sick.

The U. S. artillery landed at Fort Independence, and the marines at the Charlestown navy yard, on the steamer John Taylor, going down. When she returns from towing the cutter, she will bring them back to the city. All excitement is now allayed.

It is impossible to estimate the number of people in the streets through which Burns passed. At the corner of State and Washington streets, a quantity of snuff, cowhage, and a bottle of vitriol, were thrown among the troops.

In the vicinity of the custom-house, a truckman attempted to drive his team through the military line, when one of his horses, a valuable animal, was killed by a bayonet stab. The crowd cried "Shame!" and made a rush, when the commander of the company ordered the troops to fire. Col. Boyd, of the staff, however, instantly countermanded the order.

Several arrests were made, and three or four persons were badly hurt. A well-dressed elderly man was conveyed to the hospital, with his head cut open by a sabre. John K. Hayes, captain of the police, resigned his office at noon, refusing to do duty in the slave case.

In the adjoining towns the bells were tolled for an hour.

WISCONSIN.—The press breathes but one spirit of opposition to the conspiracies of the slave power. Several papers advise the casting off of party ties and a union of all favorable to Freedom. In Racine county, at Mount Pleasant, a meeting was held on the 27th May, to further this object, W. A. Foster presiding, at which it was

"*Resolved*, That we are uncompromisingly opposed to all legislation that has a tendency to extend or perpetuate the curse of American Slavery, and that we will do all that our influence or votes can do to defeat the measures of the present Administration, in their nefarious designs upon the free Territory of Nebraska and Kansas, and that we are unyieldingly opposed to letting the free soil of our own State be used as a hunting-ground for fugitive slaves, and that we hereby pledge ourselves, lives, fortunes, and sacred honors, to sustain those who are under bonds for an alleged participation in the rescue, or any others who may hereafter do like acts, and we hereby instruct our Delegates to the County Convention to support the principles of this resolution."

ST. LOUIS, MAY 31.—The conspirators in the Martha Washington case have been recaptured, and imprisoned. Indictments have been found against them.

## MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

In the election of Mayor, Councilmen, and Assessors, to-day, a very full vote is being polled, and much interest is exhibited; but we are gratified in knowing that, thus far, (3 P. M.,) perfect order and good feeling has prevailed.

*June 5th.*

THINGS IN BOSTON.—R. H. Dana, one of the counsel for Burns, was knocked down on his way home, at night, in the streets of Boston, by a slung shot. It is supposed that the provocation was, the severity of his language towards some of the assistants of the Marshal.

At one o'clock on the morning of the third, three images were found suspended from the flag staff on the Common, with the following names attached: Marshal Freeman, Benjamin F. Hallett, and Commissioner Loring, with divers descriptive epithets fastened to them.

THE BELLS AT MANCHESTER, PAWTUCKET, and other places in New England, were tolled, when it was announced that Burns was given up.

FIVE HUNDRED MINISTERS held a Convention in Boston during the late proceedings in that place, and after conferring upon the present condition of the country, resolved to take measures for uniting and organizing the religious sentiment of all denominations against Slavery.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS.—The Governor has appointed Hon. Julius Rockwell, of Pittsfield, United States Senator, in place of Hon. Edward Everett, resigned. Mr. Rockwell has been a Representative in Congress from Berkshire county, and Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He is an Anti-Slavery Whig.

Some time since, (say two months,) I sent two shillings to J. Clay Parker, Esq., Hagerstown, Maryland, agreeable to his card in the *Era*, in order to obtain the information he advertised to impart, and I have wrote him once or twice since, but am still without his reply; and, as I think he is playing possum, let others beware how they get trapped.

T. R. STARKHOUSE.

We hope it may turn out that Mr. Starkhouse is mistaken. At all events, we publish what he says, for the benefit of Mr. Parker.

Not long since, we received a similar complaint about Mr. Cook, an advertiser in Indiana. The complainant undertook, also, to censure us for printing his advertisements. We do not plead guilty. Mr. Cook advertises a book, which he says is a compilation of all the receipts and secret ways of making money which have lately appeared in the newspapers, and he states his price. We see no more harm in advertising that book, than other books of receipts so often advertised by booksellers. Readers of newspapers must judge for themselves whether they will buy the books or not. We do not know either of these advertisers; but, as they pay us our bills, we took it for granted they were honest. It is possible that their failure in the cases named to us, is owing to accident of some kind. If it can be shown that they are in the habit of receiving money, and then refusing to send in return what they promise in their advertisements, let it be shown. Publishers will no longer advertise for them, nor will the People be imposed upon.

Another step in the subjugation of the North is about being taken in this city, in which the State of Virginia appears as the complainant. The reader will recollect the discharge by habeas corpus of the Lemmon slaves, who were proved to have been voluntarily brought by their owner into this State. The slaves were subsequently freed by purchase. The State of Virginia now takes offence at the law of the State of New York, which declares that slaves brought into our jurisdiction shall be free, and having got an appeal from the action of Judge Paine, sends up her attorney general to endeavor to overthrow the local law of this State, and extend the local law of Virginia *over* us. It is hard to say what the slave power will not do; but we are tolerably confident that this attempt to legalize slaveholding in the Empire State will fail. The modest demand of Virginia is, substantially, that slaveholders may bring their slaves to New York, go to Saratoga with them, and turn the white men of the State into a committee to watch them, and see that they do not run away from their masters. This is one of the first steps toward that glorious consummation looked for by Toombs, when he shall triumphantly call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

The case, we understand, is now before the Supreme Court of New York; whence, if the decision be adverse to Virginia, it will be carried before the Supreme Court of the United States.

### *Important from Turkey.*

BALTIMORE, JUNE 3.—A letter of the latest date from Constantinople, received to-day, (per steamer Asia,) from a high functionary in that city, perfectly reliable, states that the financial condition of Turkey is miserable. She has already exhausted her resources, and is unable to borrow money.

The Government of the Sultan is growing weaker and weaker every day. The British troops will not leave until she gets all she wants from the Ottoman Empire. The French are less interested in the sick man's effects; but John Bull is chief mourner and professed heir.

This looks as if it originated with some friend of Russian Despotism.—*Ed. Era.*

### *More Fugitive Slaves.*

OSWEGO, JUNE 1.—The *Times* of this morning states that three fugitive slaves were shipped on board the steamer Ontario, yesterday, with the owner in pursuit, who was too late to take out papers for their detention. He had telegraphed to Sackett's Harbor to have them stopped.

### *Anti-Nebraska Demonstration.*

UTICA, JUNE 2.—Bells were tolled on the reception of the news of the signing of the Nebraska bill by the President.

### *Brooklyn Riot.*

NEW YORK, JUNE 5.—Nobody was killed at the riot in Brooklyn, but several were wounded. Fifty arrests have been made.

SECOND DESPATCH.

NEW YORK, JUNE 5.—The reported riot in Brooklyn turns out to be a grand flash in the pan. The supposed exaggeration, it is believed, was sent on to affect the Washington city municipal election. Nobody was killed, and but few were slightly wounded.

THIRD DESPATCH.

NEW YORK, JUNE 5.—Everything is quiet in Brooklyn. None dead. Additional arrests were made this morning. An examination is taking place of the proceedings.

### *Ohio River.*

WHEELING, JUNE 5.—The water in the Ohio river at this point is seven feet deep; at Pittsburg six.

### *Markets.*

BALTIMORE, JUNE 5.—Flour firm—sales 900 barrels Howard Street, at $9, and 600 barrels City Mills, at $8.75. Wheat—sales of 7,000 bushels red, at $2 09 a $2.13; white, good prime, at $2.12 a $2 20; very prime, at $2.25. Corn—sales of 10,000 bushels white, at 75 a 77 cents; yellow, at 80 cents. Oats sold at 57 a 62 cents. Rye sold at $1.07 a $1 13. Whiskey sold at 29 a 30 cents. Prices of other articles unchanged.

PHILADELPHIA, June 5.—Flour—sales at $9 a $9.12. Wheat—sales of red at $2.12 a $2.14, white at $2 20 a $2 26. Corn—sales at 82 a 84.

NEW YORK, JUNE 5.—Flour firm—sales of 5,000 barrels of State at $9.50; Southern at $9.75 a $9.87. Wheat—sales of 10,000 bushels red at $2 05 a $2 10, Genesee at $2.50. Corn—sales of 35,000 bushels of mixed at 78, yellow 82. Cotton dull. Stocks also dull.

*"Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty."*

PROSPECTUS OF THE FREE CITIZEN.
A PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE.

THE undersigned proposes to publish at the seat of government of Pennsylvania, an Independent Democratic weekly newspaper under the above title; and, in announcing this purpose, we deem it proper to refer briefly to a few of the general principles which shall govern our course.

The Scripture teaches that "God created man in his own image," and that all men are consequently brethren. The Declaration of Independence recognises this truth when it declares that "all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

We believe in the Constitution of the United States, which declares its purpose to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and hold that all its provisions should be construed in accordance with this general purpose.

This was the position and purpose of the sages of the Revolution, and we, their descendants, should labor to secure the blessings of individual liberty and national liberty.

We believe in Democracy—a government by the People and for the People—in the Democracy of free thought, free speech, free conscience, free labor, and free men—in the Democracy which loathes Oppression, and which does not bend its back to sustain the interests of a Class, however powerful or imposing its numbers or position. A Democracy which does this, which despises the People, underrates their intelligence, disregards their opinions, and abuses their confidence, we look upon as a pretence and a sham. If man is to be considered merely as a stall-fed animal, to be satisfied when filled with creature comforts, then will free citizens and free laborers be considered as a nuisance and an incumbrance; but not when they are regarded as the life-blood of the Republic. We have been told that such a paper as we propose to print cannot live in the atmosphere of Harrisburg, that the politicians of Pennsylvania have so debauched her public sentiment as to crush out all regard for Justice, Humanity and the Rights of Man as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence; but we do not believe this. Every friend of freedom and democracy has a personal interest in the reputation of the Commonwealth, and we trust every friend of the cause will do his part to sustain THE FREE CITIZEN, and refute this slander on the Keystone State.

TERMS.—THE FREE CITIZEN will be printed on a large and handsome sheet, at Two Dollars per year, payable invariably in advance. Three copies will be sent for $5; 5 copies for $8; and 10 copies for $10. No paper will be sent unless the money accompanies the order. Address

A. M. GANGEWER, Harrisburg, Pa.

ANOTHER CASE OF FEVER AND AGUE CURED.

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Jan. 5

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*DOCTOR HOOFLAND'S CELEBRATED GERMAN BITTERS,*
Prepared by
Dr. C. M. Jackson, at the German Medicine Store, 120 Arch street, Philadelphia.

Their power over the above diseases is not excelled, if equalled, by any other preparation in the United States, as the cures attest, in many cases after skillful physicians had failed.

These Bitters are worthy the attention of invalids. Possessing great virtues in the rectification of diseases of the liver and lesser glands, exercising the most searching power in weakness and affections of the digestive organs, they are withal safe, certain, and pleasant.

*More Home Testimony.*

PHILADELPHIA, March 1, 1853.

DEAR SIR: For the past two years I have been severely afflicted with Liver Complaint, Dyspepsia, and Piles, suffering constantly the pains and inconveniences attendant upon such complaints, without energy, being scarcely able to attend to any business. I used a great deal of medicine, without any apparent change until I used your "Hoofland's German Bitters." They have entirely cured me. I am now entirely free from pain and ache of any kind, and feel like a new man in every respect, and unhesitatingly recommend your Bitters to all invalids.

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Yours, truly, WM. HUGHES
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April 1—3taw

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# WASHINGTON, D. C.

## MR. CHASE'S FINAL SPEECH,

AGAINST

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI PROHIBITION.

On the night of the passage of the bill, immediately after the rejection of the Clayton amendment, Mr. CHASE rose and said in substance what follows:

I cannot, Mr. President, permit this bill to pass, without the utterance of a few words. The rejection of the amendment upon which we have just voted is a great triumph of principle, not the less valuable because coerced from its opponents by a necessity to which they have yielded so reluctantly. The bill at last concedes a full, ample, and complete recognition in these new Territories of the right of immigrants from the Old World to an equal participation with the native-born in the organization and control of the Territorial Governments.

But, sir, while this principle is conceded, the great wrong of the bill still remains conspicuous and flagrant. The Senator from Virginia has emphatically declared this great wrong to be its vital principle. He tells us that the repeal of the Missouri prohibition of slavery is THE PRINCIPLE of the bill. Against that repeal, every word uttered by me upon this floor, in opposition to the bill, has been directed.

I have never controverted the right of the people of the Territories to govern themselves. The prohibition of slavery in the Territory is nothing more nor less than a simple declaration, that every inhabitant of the Territory shall be recognised as a full man, and protected in the enjoyment of all the rights which man derives from God. I join with the Senator from Michigan in the assertion of the great doctrine of inalienable rights. It is to protect these rights, that Governments are instituted among men; and it is because the prohibition of slavery fulfils this greatest object of Government, that I revere and defend it.

But, Mr. President, I differ widely from that honorable Senator in some important particulars. I have no doubt whatever as to the constitutional power of Congress to legislate for a Territory. It is needless now to inquire into the source from which that power is derived. The Senator from Michigan denies its existence, but at the same moment, as it seems to me, concedes it in the assertion of the right of Congress to organize Governments for the Territories. That right the honorable Senator has distinctly and emphatically asserted here to-night. And if Congress can organize a Government; can authorize the appointment of a Governor and Judges, and the election of a Legislature; can define the sphere of executive, judicial, and legislative authority, and can prescribe the qualifications of voters, how is it possible to maintain that Congress cannot legislate for a Territory? There can be no higher power of legislation than that which prescribes the fundamental law. This greatest power necessarily includes every lesser power. When the Senator from Michigan, therefore, asserts the right of Congress to organize a Government, define its departments, prescribe their powers, and determine who shall exercise the right of suffrage, he necessarily asserts a right of Congress to legislate for the Territories, quite as ample as that for which any man will contend.

The Senator asks, Can the Government of the United States own the people of the Territories? He answers, and he may well answer, No. I say, No. Everybody says, No. But why not? For the plain and simple reason that the individuals of the people have inalienable rights, and these rights the Declaration of Independence enumerates as the rights to life, to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The very first step towards self-government is the inviolable security of these rights. The highest duty of Congress to the people of the Territories is to furnish this security. The Senator from Michigan, I trust, will find few converts to the doctrine that it is necessary to self-government that this security shall be broken up and destroyed.

For thirty-four years the Missouri prohibition has stood at the gateway of the vast Northwest, as a guardian angel, proclaiming to all its future inhabitants absolute security in the enjoyment of these rights. It is for the sake of that security that this prohibition is so dear to the people of the country.

I have heretofore expressed the opinion, Mr. President, that the exclusion of slavery from the territory northwest of the Mississippi was parcel of a compact between the two great sections of the country. But when I have insisted upon the fulfilment of this great stipulation, I have been told that I have no right to claim it, because I was no friend to the original compromise of which it formed a part. Why, sir, when that compromise was made, I was a little boy, at school. Of course, I was neither art nor part of it. But as I grew up to man's estate, and became acquainted with the great public questions of our history, I certainly saw no reason for approving the compromise. If the making of it were now an original question, I would never consent to it. I am no friend of compromises. But, sir, the compromise was made. It was made by our fathers. The Representatives of the free States and the Representatives of the slave States united in it. It was acquiesced in by the people of both sections of the country. For more than a third of a century it has stood untouched. These are the great facts. I disregard all mere technicalities and petty quibbles about what was done in 1820, and in 1821. I take the plain general result of the whole, and I see in this compromise what the men of the time saw in it, and what the people of the whole country have ever since seen in it, A COMPACT, binding upon honor and good faith, although embodied in a legislative act, and therefore repealable.

Sir, if this compact yet remained unexecuted, it might be abrogated by the parties who made it, without reproach to either. But it does not remain unexecuted. It has been completely fulfilled on the part of the free States. Their Senators in this Chamber, and their Representatives in the other Hall of Congress, consented to the admission of Missouri and Arkansas as slave States, solely upon the ground of this compact. Nor can it be doubted that the admission of all the slave States, which have come into the Union since Missouri, was secured through its influence upon public sentiment and the legislation of the country. And now, sir, after the slave States have gained all that could be gained under this compact, after Missouri and Arkansas have been admitted, and the remnant of the Territory covered by it, south of 36 deg 30 min., has been filled up by slaveholding Indian tribes, we are coolly told, that this compact is nothing but an ordinary act of legislation, which may be repealed without any violation of faith!

It is to be repealed to-night. The Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY] has told us that the news of its repeal will send a thrill of pleasure through the hearts of thousands. It may be so. But, sir, there are other thousands, and tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, who will receive that intelligence with deep indignation. They will see in the transactions of this night, the breach and dishonor of an ancient and sacred obligation. They will see in it the destruction of a security and guarantee of Freedom, which, for thirty-four years, and by universal acquiescence, has been regarded as inviolable.

And, sir, for what? What does this bill give us in lieu of the prohibition of slavery in the Territories? Why, sir, we are told that it gives the principle of Congressional non-intervention. That is the great merit of the bill, in the eyes of the distinguished Senator from Michigan. But he tells us, also, that in other respects, this bill is in advance of former Territorial acts. Now, sir, it so happens, that all the more liberal provisions of this bill, which he approves, originated with the opponents of the repeal. As the bill came from the Committee on Territories, it was an exact transcript of former acts. I believe I was, myself, the first Senator who directed attention to the fact, that the Governors of these Territories were invested with an absolute veto power; that all the acts of the Territorial Legislature were subjected to the revision of Congress; and that, therefore, the bill, which professed to establish popular sovereignty, subjected every act of the People, through their Legislature, to the double veto of the appointee of the President and of Congress. In these respects, the bill has received some amendment.

But, sir, the veto power, although abridged, still remains. The legislative authority of the Territory is invested, not in a Legislature elected by the People, but in the Governor and Legislature. This bill invests the Governor with a legislative power, equal to that of one-third of the members in each branch of the Legislature. His veto, or disapproval, will arrest the passage of any act which cannot command the sanction of two-thirds of each branch, notwithstanding the veto. Add to this direct power of the veto, the influence which the patronage and station of the Governor confers, and it is easily seen that few acts, objectionable to him, are likely to receive the legislative sanction.

Then, sir, every act of the Legislature has to pass the ordeal of the Judiciary, and must depend for its execution, in part at least, not only upon the Governor, but upon the Secretary, the District Attorney, and the Marshal. Now, sir, in this bill, the advocates of which profess so much respect for the doctrine of self-government, one would naturally expect to find these officers made elective by the people. But does the bill in fact contain any such provision? Not at all. The President is to appoint the Governor, who is to exercise the veto power; the President is to appoint the Judges, who determine the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of all legislative acts; the President is to appoint the Secretary, the District Attorney, and the Marshal, who must necessarily exercise so important an influence upon the Territorial destinies. Not only is the President to appoint all these officers, but he may remove them all, or either of them, whenever he pleases. The whole action of the Territorial Government is thus completely subjected to Executive control. The whole achievement of the bill is to *substitute Presidential intervention for Congressional intervention.* If we are to have either, I prefer that of Congress, to be exercised by the Representatives of the States and of the People, rather than that of a President, too likely, under existing circumstances, to wield the immense patronage of his office for the extension and perpetuation of slavery.

The substitution of Presidential for Congressional regulation of the Territories will have one result which deserves attention. The question of freedom or slavery in the Territories, in the absence of a Congressional prohibition, must be determined by the results of Presidential elections. Henceforward, this great question must enter conspicuously into the conflicts of party. If the people desire to secure the Territories for freedom they must have a President, who will not hesitate to exercise his influence on the side of freedom. The present Administration, indeed, will make the first appointments; but, the officers thus appointed are removable at pleasure, and the People, by changing the President, can change also the whole character of the official influence over the Territories. The late distinguished Senator from Massachusetts once said, in substance, that the Constitutions of States formed out of Territories were made in Washington. I do not fully accept this statement. But nobody can doubt that the powers conferred on the President by this bill will enable him to mould the Territorial institutions according to his pleasure, unless he is met by the firm and determined opposition of the people themselves.

Sir, I am opposed to this Presidential intervention. It is an abuse of language to call a bill which authorizes it, a non-intervention bill. It is absolutely the reverse. I, sir, who am denounced for my determined resistance to the repeal of the Missouri prohibition—that simple guarantee of inalienable rights—proposed an amendment which would have secured to the people of the Territories the absolute control of their own affairs, without Congressional or Presidential intervention. That amendment proposed that the action of the President in the organization of the Territories should be restricted to the simple appointment of commissioners, who should divide the country into convenient election precincts; notify an election of Governor, Judges, Secretary, and members of the Legislature, to be held on a certain day; receive and count the votes and announce the result, and appoint a place and time for the meeting of the Legislature, and the organization of the Government. I do not see how it is possible that a simpler, plainer, or more certain plan of giving effect to the doctrine of self-government in the Territories could be devised. I do not see how it was possible for the professed friends of that doctrine to vote against it, without the most manifest inconsistency. But they did vote against it, and it was rejected, and Presidential intervention was established. Under these circumstances, regarding the bill as the violation of a solemn compact; as an abrogation of a great security for personal freedom and individual liberty; as no bill of non-intervention, but as a bill which substitutes for the control of the people, through their chosen representatives, the control of the President, through his official patronage, I can never give it the sanction of my vote.

I stand here, Mr. President, as an independent Senator. The Senator from Tennessee, [Mr. BELL,] in the course of his remarks, referred to my position as a Democrat. If he intended to identify me, or if he supposes that I desire to identify myself, with that party which styles itself the National Democracy, and whose creed is contained in the Baltimore platform of 1852, and whose Administration is now urging the repeal of the Missouri prohibition, he is greatly mistaken. There are two parties in this country which claim to be Democratic. One is the self-styled National Democracy; the other is the Independent Democracy. The creed of the former excepts the institution of slavery from the application of Democratic principles; the creed of the latter tolerates no exceptions. The policy of the former is to subordinate the rights and interests of freedom and free labor to the demands of slavery and the slave power; the policy of the latter is to establish freedom wherever the General Government possesses constitutional power to do so, and to place its legitimate influence on the side of liberty, rather than on the side of slavery. The former seeks the support of the extremest advocates of slavery, as indispensable to its party triumphs; the latter seeks no support, except from those, whether citizens of slave States or free States, who are willing to follow Democratic principles whithersoever they lead, without any exceptions in favor of oppression. The Independent Democracy, Mr. President, is stronger, as yet, in principles than in numbers; and yet this party at the last Presidential election numbered in its ranks a little more than one-twentieth of all the voters in the United States. There are but three Senators upon this floor who are identified with this political organization—the Senator who has just taken his seat from Connecticut, [Mr. GILLETTE,] my friend from Massachusetts, [Mr. SUMNER,] and myself. It so happens that our number is a little less, in proportion to the whole number of Senators, than that of the Independent Democratic electors in proportion to the whole number of American voters.

The doctrines which guide our action in respect to this bill may be summed up in few words. We insist on the denationalization of slavery, and the decentralization of power. The National Government, in our judgment, should cease all interference with Slavery. It should uphold it nowhere. It should legislate for it nowhere. Only within the slave States, and so far as the institution is beyond the reach of the constitutional legislation of Congress, should slavery be permitted to exist. Within those States, slavery should be left to control, regulation, amelioration, or abolition, by State law, according to the discretion of the People.

I wish I had that power of persuasive eloquence, which so graces and distinguishes the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BENJAMIN.] and I would in my turn appeal to Senators from the slave States. I would say to them: You say you wish for peace. You tell us you ask for nothing but to be let alone. We ask you to let us alone. Do not seek to involve us, the non-slaveholders of the country, in the responsibility of upholding a system condemned by our deepest political, moral, and religious convictions. Seek no extension of it through the action of the General Government. Within the limits of your States, act upon your own conscientious judgments. We shall rejoice if those judgments lead you in the direction of emancipation. Should it be otherwise, we shall claim no right, through the agency of our common Government, to dictate or control your action. Doing this, you can have peace. Letting us alone, you will yourselves be let alone.

I see no other road, Mr. President, to peace, than this. The religious convictions, the social sentiments, the economical opinions, of most of the slaveholders, and of the great mass of the non-slaveholders, are widely and irreconcilably at variance in respect to slavery. It is impossible, so long as the action of the Government shall be in any way or in any degree invoked in aid of slavery, to withdraw the question from these halls. So long as slavery continues here at the seat of the National Government, sanctioned and regulated by acts of Congress; so long as slavery is permitted in the National Territories; so long as the slave trade is allowed by law in licensed and enrolled vessels of the United States; so long as men, women, and children, are sold at auction under process of the Federal courts; so long as fugitive slave acts remain on the statute books of National legislation; so long as the powers of this Government shall be exerted for the acquisition of additional slaveholding territory, just so long will this agitation continue, just so long will there be no peace.

But, sir, if the principle of denationalizing slavery did not constrain us to oppose this bill, the principle of decentralizing power would compel us, as Independent Democrats, to withhold our support from it. The patronage of the Executive is already vastly too large. We wish to diminish it, as far as possible, by withdrawing from the President the appointment of officers, so far as it can be constitutionally done, and confiding their election to the people. We oppose this bill, because it enlarges the patronage of the Executive, and because it denies to the people of the Territories the power to elect their own officers.

Now, Mr. President, whatever others may do, the Independent Democrats will go forward without faltering or wavering in the path of political duty which their honest convictions prescribe. If men of other parties, seeing, at length, the utter incompatibility between the pretensions of the slave power and the just claims of freedom, and recognising the absolute necessity which requires the non-slaveholders of the country to demand inflexibly the complete divorce of the General Government from slavery, and the exertion of its legitimate influence on the side of freedom, shall manifest a disposition to unite their efforts for these objects, the Independent Democrats will not hesitate to make common cause with them. If no such union of the friends of freedom shall take place, the Independent Democrats will, I trust, be found ready to co-operate earnestly and honorably with any other party which is willing to act with them for the maintenance of freedom. In all events, and under all circumstances, they will be true to the great principles of justice, liberty, and progress, which they have avowed.

I shall rejoice, sir, if the friends of freedom, disregarding the differences which have hitherto been suffered to divide them, shall be found willing to unite for the maintenance and defence of Liberty, in a living, earnest, and energetic democracy of the people, against the nationalizers of slavery, under whatever name arrayed. I listened to the declaration of my friend and colleague [Mr. WADE] with great interest. He announced distinctly and with emphasis the final separation of the Southern from the Northern wing of the Whig party. If that separation has, indeed, taken place, a million of voters in the free States are emancipated from the influence of the slave power. And it must be remembered that what has most largely contributed to prevent the formation of a triumphant political organization for the defence of freedom, is the fact that each of the old parties has had a powerful pro-slavery wing, composed of slaveholders, and non-slaveholders ready to concede all their demands. The liberal members of each party, on the other hand, though opposed to slavery in principle, and willing personally to act against it, have been disposed to concede so much to the demands and wishes of the pro-slavery wing, that their own influence for freedom has been nullified. Let a separation be effected between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery wings of both or either of the old parties, and it is not difficult to perceive that the opponents of slavery in either will be ready to go as far, at least, if not farther, than we who have so long opposed slavery upon the grounds which I have indicated.

Clearly, then, Mr. President, the slavery question is not to be excluded from Congress by the passage of this bill. That object, which its advocates profess to have so much at heart, cannot in this way be attained.

Will slavery find its way into the Territories? Some gentlemen from the slave States think it will. The greater number express the contrary opinion. I think myself there is danger. If slavery shall not be established in the Territories, it will not be the fault of this bill. It breaks down the barrier. It offers a free entrance. I have a strong hope, however, that slavery will be excluded by the action of the people of the Territories themselves. If slaveholders choose to go there with their slaves, non-slaveholding immigrants from the Old World, and laboring men from our own States, will be exposed to great disadvantages in the struggle—disadvantages from which it was the duty of this Government to protect them. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, I trust the cause of freedom will prevail in the Territories. It will prevail, if the non-slaveholders of the country awake to a just sense of their rights, and their duties, and, while they extend ready and abundant aid to free immigration into the Territories, sternly demand from the Legislature of the Nation the exclusion of slavery from all Territories by law. I trust the people of the Territories will pay small regard to the doctrines of those Senators who insist that they have no right to legislate for the prohibition of slavery, until they form a Constitution with a view to admission into the Union. Most earnestly do I hope that they will act, and act promptly, for the protection of themselves and their children against this great evil.

If, then, the slavery question is not to be excluded from Congress, and slavery is not to find admittance into the Territories, what other advantage do Senators from slave States see in this bill, which induces them so vehemently to demand its passage? It is given out in the newspapers, that the principle of this bill is to serve some great purpose of the slave power, in respect to future territorial acquisitions. It is suggested that Cuba, the territory to be acquired from Mexico under the Gadsden treaty, the Sandwich islands, perhaps Hayti and Dominica, are to be the theatres upon which this principle is to achieve its greatest triumphs.

I shall not go into this subject here, and now. These questions must be met when they arise. This bill doubtless paves the way for the approach of new, alarming, and perhaps fatal dangers to our country. It is the part of freemen and lovers of freedom, to stand upon their guard, and prepare for the worst events. It is because this bill puts in peril great and precious interests, reverses the ancient and settled policy of the Government, and breaks down a great safeguard of liberty, that I have felt myself constrained to resist it, firmly and persistently, though without avail. All that now remains for me is, to enter against it, as I now do, my earnest and solemn protest, and to join with my colleague in recording against it the vote of Ohio.

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## SPAIN.

There is something mournful about the decay of a once mighty nation. A fertile theme of meditation is afforded by the sight of a people whose very name was once emblematic of dignity and splendor, of power upon the land and on the sea—sinking sadly, though haughtily, into a mere melancholy memorial of departed greatness. Such is Spain at the present day; and unless some important changes for the better occur, it is evident that her "course of empire" will soon be fulfilled. Under the Moors, the population of Spain was thirty millions; it is now less than thirteen millions. The *Calmor Publico*, a Madrid newspaper, says:

"Granada, before its fall in 1487, contained 400,000 inhabitants, of whom 60,000 bore arms. It now contains but 60,000 souls, all counted. Malaga in the seventeenth century contained 80 000 inhabitants; it now possesses only 50,000. Medina del Campo in the seventeenth century contained 60,000 inhabitants; it now contains 6,000. Merida at the epoch possessed 40,000 inhabitants; it now possesses only 5,000. In the sixteenth century, the diocese of Salamanca had one hundred and twenty-seven cities and villages; it now has thirteen only. Segoria in 1725 had five thousand families; now two thousand. Seville in the seventeenth century had a population of 300,000 of which 130,000 were employed in manufactures; it now contains 96,000 souls, all told. Toledo in the fifteenth century had 200,000 inhabitants; it now has 15,000. Valence, which in the year 1600 counted a population of 600,000, now hardly numbers 60,000. In 1778 there were counted 1,511 abandoned villages in Spain, and the number has been increasing from that day to this."

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Matt. F. Ward returned to Louisville on the steamboat R. J. Ward, on the 22d. He left the city again the next day, in consequence, probably, of the threatening manner in which his return was noticed by the city papers of that morning, and a call for a public meeting on the subject, which was prepared during the day.

## FINAL PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY IN KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

ON THE

NIGHT OF THE PASSAGE OF THE KANSAS AND NEBRASKA BILL.

MR. PRESIDENT: It is now nearly midnight. At this late hour of a session drawn out to unaccustomed length, I shall not fatigue the Senate by argument. There is a time for all things, and the time for this has passed. The determination of the majority is fixed; but it is not more fixed than mine. The bill which they sustain, I oppose. On a former occasion I met it by argument, which, though often attacked in debate, still stands unanswered and unanswerable. At present, I am admonished that I must be content with a few words of earnest protest against the consummation of a great wrong. Duty to myself, and also to the honored Commonwealth of which I find myself the sole representative in this immediate exigency, will not allow me to do less.

But I have a special duty, which I would not omit. I have on my desk remonstrances against the passage of this bill, some of which have been placed in my hands since the commencement of the debate to-day—and I desire that these voices, direct from the people, should be heard. With the permission of the Senate, I will offer them now.

The CHAIR, (Mr. STUART.) The remonstrances can be received by unanimous consent.

Several VOICES. Let them be received.

The CHAIR. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. SUMNER. Taking advantage of this permission, I now present the remonstrance of a large number of citizens of New York against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

I also present the remonstrance of the clergy and laity of the Baptist denomination in Michigan and Indiana, against the wrong and bad faith contemplated in the Nebraska bill. But this is not all.

I hold in my hand, and now present to the Senate, 125 separate remonstrances from clergymen of every Protestant denomination, in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, constituting the six New England States. These remonstrances are identical in character with the larger one presented by my distinguished colleague, [Mr. EVERETT]—whose term of service here ends in a few days, by voluntary resignation, and who is now detained at home by illness—and were originally intended as a part of it, but did not arrive in season to be annexed to that interesting and weighty document. They are independent in form, though supplementary in their nature—helping to swell the protest of the pulpits of New England.

With pleasure and pride I now do this service, and, at this last stage, interpose the sanctity of the pulpits of New England, to arrest this alarming outrage; believing that the remonstrants, from their eminent character and influence, as representatives of the intelligence and conscience of the country, are peculiarly entitled to be heard; and, further, believing that their remonstrances, while respectful in form, embody just conclusions both of opinion and fact. Like them, sir, I do not hesitate to protest here against the bill yet pending before the Senate, as a great moral wrong; as a breach of Public Faith; as a measure full of danger to the peace, and even existence of our Union. And, sir, believing in God, as I profoundly do, I cannot doubt that the opening of an immense region to so great an enormity as Slavery is calculated to draw down upon our country his righteous judgments.

"In the name of Almighty God, and in his presence," these remonstrants protest against the Nebraska bill. In this solemn language, which has been strangely pronounced blasphemous on this floor, there is obviously no assumption of ecclesiastical power, as has been perversely charged, but simply a devout observance of the scriptural injunction: "Whatsoever ye do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord." Let me add, also, that these remonstrants, in this very language, have followed the example of the Senate, which at this present session has ratified at least one important treaty, beginning with these precise words: "In the name of Almighty God." Surely, if the Senate may thus assume to speak, the clergy may do likewise, without just criticism, at least in this body.

But I am unwilling, particularly at this time, to be betrayed into anything that shall seem like a defence of the clergy. They need no such thing at my hands. There are men in this Senate, justly eminent for eloquence, learning and ability; but there is no man here competent, except in his own conceit, to sit in judgment on the clergy of New England. Honorable Senators, who have been so swift with criticism and sarcasm, might profit by their example. Perhaps the Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. BUTLER,] who is not insensible to scholarship, might learn from them something of its graces. Perhaps the Senator from Virginia, [Mr. MASON,] who finds no sanction under the Constitution for any remonstrance from clergymen, might learn from them something of the privileges of an American citizen. And, perhaps, the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. DOUGLAS,] who precipitated this odious measure upon the country, might learn from them something of political wisdom. Sir, from the first settlement of these shores, from those early days of struggle and privation—through the trials of the Revolution—the clergy have been associated, not only with the piety and the learning, but with the liberties of the country. For a long time, New England was governed by their prayers more than by any acts of the Legislature, and, at a later day, their voices aided even the Declaration of Independence. The clergy of our time may speak, then, not only from their own virtues, but from the echoes which yet live in the pulpits of their fathers.

For myself, I desire to thank them for their generous interposition. They have already done much good in moving the country, They will not be idle. In the days of the Revolution, John Adams, yearning for Independence, said—"Let the pulpits thunder against oppression!" And the pulpits thundered. The time has come for them to thunder again.

There are lessons taught by these remonstrances, which, at this moment, should not be unheeded. The Senator from Ohio, [Mr. WADE,] on the other side of the Chamber, has openly declared that the Northern Whigs can never again combine with their Southern brethren in support of slavery. This is a good augury. The clergy of New England, some of whom, forgetful of the traditions of other days, once made their pulpits vocal for the Fugitive Slave bill, now, by the voices of learned divines, eminent bishops, accomplished professors, and faithful pastors, uttered in solemn remonstrance, at last unite in putting a permanent brand upon this hateful institution. In consistency with this act, from this time forward, they can never more render it any support. Thank God for this! Here is a sign full of promise for Freedom!

These remonstrances have especial significance, when it is urged, as it has been often in this debate, that the proposition still pending proceeds from the North. Yes, sir, proceeds from the North; for that is its excuse and apology. The ostrich is said to hide its head in the sand, and then vainly imagine its coward body beyond the reach of its pursuers. In similar spirit, honorable Senators seem to shelter themselves behind certain Northern votes, and then vainly imagine that they are protected from the judgment of the country. The pulpits of New England, representing to an unprecedented extent the popular voice there, now proclaim that these six States protest, with all the fervor of religious conviction, against this measure. To this extent, at least, I confidently declare it does not come from the North.

From these expressions, and other tokens which daily greet us, it is evident that at least the religious sentiment of the country is touched, and, under this sentiment, I rejoice to believe that the whole North will be quickened with the true life of freedom. Sir Philip Sidney, speaking to Queen Elizabeth, of the spirit which animated every man, woman, and child, in the Netherlands against the Spanish Power, exclaimed, "It is the spirit of the Lord, and is invincible." A similar spirit is now animating the free States against the Slave Power, breathing everywhere its precious inspiration, and forbidding repose under the attempted usurpation. The threat of disunion, so often sounded in our ears, will be disregarded by an aroused and indignant people. Ah, sir, Senators vainly expect peace. Not in this way can peace come. In passing this bill, you scatter, broadcast through the land, dragon's teeth, and, though they may not, as in ancient fable, spring up armed men, yet will they fructify in civil strife and feud.

From the depths of my soul, as a loyal citizen and as a Senator, I plead, remonstrate, protest against the passage of this bill. I struggle against it, as against death; but, as in death itself corruption puts on incorruption and this mortal body puts on immortality, so from the sting of this hour I find assurances of that triumph by which Freedom will be restored to her immortal birthright in the Republic.

Sir, the bill, which you are now about to pass, is at once the worst and the best bill, on which Congress ever acted.

It is the worst bill, inasmuch as it is a present victory of Slavery. In a Christian land and in an age of civilization, a time-honored statute of Freedom is struck down, opening the way to all the countless woes and wrongs of human bondage. Among the crimes of history a new one is about to be recorded, which, in better days, will be read with universal shame. The Tea Tax and Stamp Act, which aroused the patriot rage of our fathers, were virtues by the side of this enormity; nor would it be easy to imagine, at this day, any measure which more openly defied every sentiment of justice, humanity, and Christianity. Am I not right, then, in calling it the worst bill on which Congress ever acted?

But there is another side to which I gladly turn. Sir, it is the best bill on which Congress ever acted; for it prepares the way for that "All Hail Hereafter," when slavery must disappear. It annuls all past compromises with slavery, and makes all future compromises impossible. Thus it puts Freedom and Slavery face to face, and bids them grapple. Who can doubt the result? It opens wide the door of the Future, when, at last, there will really be a North, and the slave power will be broken; when this wretched despotism will cease to dominate over our Government, no longer impressing itself upon all that it does, at home and abroad; when the National Government shall be divorced, in every way, from slavery; and, according to the true intention of our fathers, freedom shall be established by Congress, every where, at least beyond the local limits of the States.

Slavery will then be driven from its usurped foothold, here in the District of Columbia; in the national territories, and elsewhere beneath the national flag; the Fugitive Slave bill, as odious as it is unconstitutional, will become a dead letter; and the domestic slave trade, so far as it can be reached, but especially on the high-seas, will be blasted by Congressional prohibition. Every where, within the sphere of Congress, the great *Northern Hammer* will descend to smite this wrong; and the irresistible cry will break forth, "No more slave States!"

Thus, sir, now standing at the very grave of freedom in Kansas and Kebraska, I find assurances of that happy resurrection, by which freedom will be secured hereafter, not only in these Territories, but everywhere under the National Government. More clearly than ever before I now see "the beginning of the end" of slavery. Am I not right, then, in calling this measure the best bill on which Congress ever acted?

Sorrowfully I bend before the wrong you are about to perpetrate. Joyfully I welcome all the promises of the future.

[Mr. MASON, of Virginia, then followed Mr. Sumner, denouncing the remonstrances of the clergy, and proclaiming a separation between the Northern and Southern clergy. He remarked, that, as the remonstrances were still on Mr. Sumner's desk, and their reception required unanimous consent, he objected to them.]

Mr. SUMNER. It may be, at this moment, within the competency of the honorable Senator to object to the reception of these remonstrances; but, I am satisfied, that, at another time, his calmer judgment will not approve this course, much less the ground on which, now, as well as on a former occasion, he has undertaken to impeach the right of clergymen to appear, by petition or remonstrance, at the bar of Congress. Sir, in refusing to receive these remonstrances, or in neglecting them in any way, on reasons assigned in this chamber, you treat them with an indignity which becomes more marked, because it is the constant habit of the Senate to welcome remonstrances from members of the Society of Friends, in their religious character, and from all other persons, by any designation which they may adopt. Booksellers remonstrate against the International Copyright Treaty; Last Makers against a proposed change in the Patent Laws; and only lately Tobacconists have remonstrated against certain regulations touching tobacco; and all these remonstrances have been received with respect, and referred to appropriate committees in the Senate. But the clergy of New England, when protesting against a measure, which they believe, with singular unanimity, full of peril and shame to our country, are told to stay at home. Almost the jeer has gone forth, "Go up, thou bald head!" If not well, it is at least natural, that the act you are about to commit should be attended by this congenial outrage.

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## OHIO IN THE VAN.

Thank God! One of the oldest and greatest of the States consecrated to Freedom and Free Labor by the Ordinance of 1787, meets the crisis in a spirit and with an intelligence, equal to its responsibilities. The Whigs of Ohio have magnanimously resolved to give up their name and their organization, and go for a party of Freedom; the Independent Democrats are emulating their example; and the Anti-Slavery Democrats of the Administration party will soon unite with them.

"In the great State of Ohio," says the *Cincinnati Gazette*, "let the work be commenced. Let us have a Union for the sake of the Union. Let Freedom have her phalanx as well as Slavery."

"We call not," says the *Ohio State Journal*, "upon the Whigs as a distinct organization; we ask not for the co-operation of the Free Democracy, or of the Old Democracy, as distinct bodies. We invoke the Democracy of numbers, the Friends of Liberty everywhere, and all parties, to take hold of this work, as a duty they owe themselves and the country. Shall there be a response?"

To this the *Cleveland Herald* promptly responds:

"Let the Convention be called without the intervention of existing organizations; let it come from the *People*. It will be the inauguration of *the Party of the People*, and will secure the rendition, at the fall election, of such a popular verdict as will clearly indicate the position which Ohio intends to assume."

These three Whig papers severally represent the sentiment of the Whig masses in southern, in central, and in northern Ohio. They are the old standard-bearers of the Party; so that their conduct at this crisis shows that henceforth there is to be in truth a Party of Freedom, a real Democracy, in Ohio.

The *Leader*, of Cleveland, one of the leading organs of the Independent Democracy, hails the movement of these papers.

"We second," it says, "with our whole heart, its suggestion. The hour has come, when every personal consideration and party prejudice should be sacrificed on the altar of a common patriotism; as we shall meet, resolutely and promptly, the Slave Power, now seeking to obtain 'the absolute and perpetual control of the American Government.' We are ready, for one, for the inauguration of the Party of the People, and, burying all differences of the past and all divisions of the present, will labor with our neighbor, and with the true men of every party, to insure its triumph in Ohio and in the nation.

"As to the time of holding the Convention, we would suggest Thursday, the 13th of July, the anniversary of the Ordinance of 1787, which secured Freedom to the Northwest, and the principles of which have been so atrociously violated in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the present Congress."

We understand that Mr. Wade and Mr. Chase, the Senators from Ohio, are of one mind and heart upon the subject, and are prepared cordially to sustain the movement thus auspiciously begun. Soon we shall have responses from the Liberal Democrats all over the State; and then, the ball once put in motion, where will it stop?

We do like to see men in earnest, and working in obedience to the plain dictates of common sense.

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*Lowell, Feb.* 14, 1854.

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Feb. 27. 178 Chestnut st., opposite Masonic Hall.

***NEW LADIES' FASHION BOOK.***

FRANK LESLIE'S *Ladies' Gazette* of Paris, London, and New York Fashions. Published on the first of every month, containing all the Newest Fashions in every department of Ladies' and Children's Costume, Jewelry, Ornaments, Furniture, &c. The size is large quarto, being twice the size of the Paris Fashion Books, is printed on superb paper of the finest manufacture, and profusely illustrated with over *One Hundred Engravings;* in addition to which, each part will contain a splendid *Colored Plate*, alone worth more than the price charged for the whole part. Arrangements have been completed in Paris, whereby the Newest Fashions will appear in this work before the Paris Fashion Books are received by the steamer. No. 1 was issued on January 1st, 1854.

It is by far the best Fashion Book issued in this country. We cordially recommend it.—*N. Y. Daily Times.* Takes the highest rank among all journals of its class.—*N. Y. Tribune.* This is a superb work.—*Boston Transcript.* It is the best record of the fashions now published.—*Sunday Times, Philadelphia.* It contains all the newest fashions, and a colored plate of great beauty.—*Home Journal.*

One copy, one year, $3; two do., $5; four do., $9. One copy of the Gazette, and one copy of Harper's, Putnam's, or Graham's Magazines, one year, $5.

Office No. 6 John street, and all Booksellers in the United States and Canadas. March 24.

**Eastman's Infallible Sick Headache Remedy.**

THIS preparation, by E. P. EASTMAN, M. D., of Lynn, Mass., has been used in private practice for the last four years, with the greatest success. A radical cure has been effected in every instance where the directions have been strictly followed and persevered in. It is now given to the public with the full confidence that it will do all that is claimed for it, and prove itself, upon fair trial, an *infallible Sick Headache Remedy.*

It is safe and pleasant to the taste, it brings immediate relief, and all who test its curative virtues rejoice in the removal of pain, and marvel at its power in alleviating so general, and often so fatal, a scourge

The following is from D. C. Baker, Esq., Mayor of Lynn, and President of the Howard Banking Company, Boston:

*Dr. E. P. Eastman.*

DEAR SIR: A member of my family—a daughter, ten years of age—was afflicted with the sick headache, and we tried various remedies without success. When, however, you administered to her your "Headache Powders," we found them to be very beneficial, and, in fact, restored her to health.

I should, without hesitation, recommend them to those afflicted; and I beg to assure you, that I fully appreciate their value.

Respectfully yours, D. C. BAKER.

LYNN, *August* 6, 1853.

*Dr. E. P. Eastman.*

MY DEAR SIR: I avail myself of this opportunity to express to you my high appreciation of the efficiency and value of your Sick Headache Remedy. I have been afflicted, since my childhood, with very severe turns of sick headache, and have tried various remedies which have been prescribed, but found no considerable relief until I tried your remedy, which, I am happy to say, has almost entirely cured me. Several of my neighbors and friends have tried your medicine, and in every instance it has entirely relieved or greatly mollified the disease.

Faithfully yours, JOHN B. ALLEY.

WILSON, FAIRBANK, & CO., 43 and 45 Hanover street, Boston, General Agents, to whom all orders should be addressed; also for sale by all the Druggists throughout the country.

For sale in Washington by Z. D. GILMAN.

March 3.

***DR. WESSELHOEFT'S WATER CURE.***

BRATTLEBOROUGH, VERMONT,

ALL rumors to the contrary, continues to receive patients, for whose recovery and comfort the undersigned pledge themselves to spare no pains, so that they may maintain the fame of the establishment. Its provisions for hydropathic purposes are unrivalled, and its supply of pure, soft water is abundant, cool, and palatable at all seasons, without the use of ice.

DR. E. I. LEWENTHAL, Resident Physician.

MRS. F. WESSELHOEFT, Proprietress.

March 24.

**DROPSY, CANCER, TETTER, FISTULA,**

AND Diseases of the Genital Organs, removed in an incredibly short time. Invalids afflicted with the above complaints can be successfully treated at No. 86 Broadway, between Second and Third streets, east side. Office hours from ten to twelve o'clock.

Drs. WHITTEMORE and STOCKWELL,

Dec. 22. Cincinnati, Ohio.

**GILMAN'S HAIR DYE.**

The best article ever used, as hundreds can testify in this city and surrounding country. Read! GILMAN'S LIQUID HAIR DYE *instantaneously* changes the hair to a brilliant jet *Black* or glossy *Brown*, which is *permanent*—does not stain or in any way injure the skin. No article ever yet invented which will compare with it. We would advise all who have gray hairs to buy it, for it *never fails.*—*Boston Post.*

Z. D. GILMAN, Chemist, Washington city, Inventor and Sole Proprietor.

For sale by Druggists, Hair-Dressers, and Dealers in Fancy Articles, throughout the United States.

**TO BOOK AGENTS AND COLPORTEURS IN ALL PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.**

1,000 AGENTS wanted to sell OUR PARISH. A great moral and religious work for the Nineteenth Century. 452 pages, price $1.25.

One thousand copies of this work were sold the first day of publication, and eight thousand copies were called for in less than one month. The publishers feel justified in saying that no strictly religious romance has ever exceeded, if equalled, the popularity of this work in so short a time.

For circular of terms, &c., address

L. P. CROWN, & CO., Publishers,

May 26. No. 61 Cornhill, Boston.

**MINNESOTA LAND AGENCY.**

**Tracy & Farnham, General Land Agents, St. Anthony Falls, Minnesota.**

THE Subscribers offer their services to Eastern capitalists in making investments in Western lands.

Few portions of the West present so great inducements for the investment of capital, as Minnesota. It possesses a highly productive soil, a beautiful and healthy climate, and is settling with unprecedented rapidity. Lands will increase here in value more in five years than in many places in twenty-five.

The subscribers can make investments which will net fifty and, in some cases, a hundred per cent. a year, for many years.

Lands can now be had near new and thriving villages for $3, $4, and $5 per acre, that in ten years will be worth ten times that amount.

Circulars, containing much reliable information in regard to the country, furnished *gratis*, on application to TRACY & FARNHAM,

May 26. St. Anthony Falls, Minnesota.

**AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL,**

FOR THE RAPID CURE OF

COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING COUGH, CROUP, ASTHMA, AND CONSUMPTION.

*"Wisdom shall bow down to it, and the great of the earth shall kneel before it."*

NEVER could this be said with more truth, than it now applies to this remedy for affections of the throat and lungs. The exalted in learning and power acknowledge its supremacy, while both the little and the great can feel its benefits. The liberal-minded among those skilled to cure, are free to own its mastery over distempers which have baffled their art. Those of exalted stations are not ashamed to testify to its virtues, but deem it a duty and a pleasure to thus hold out the lamp of their experience to their suffering fellow men.

Witness the following:

[Translation.]

VERMILLIONVILLE, LA., *April*, 1853.

I have of late made frequent use of your Cherry Pectoral in my practice, and am happy to inform you that in no case yet has it failed me. I have made some signal cures of Laryngitis and Bronchitis with it, and have completely cured one case of Asthma, which had withstood every other medicine I could employ.

Accept, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration. JULES CLAUN COUGUET, M. D.,

Late Surgeon of the Royal Marine, France

*Mons. le Dr. J. C. Ayer.*

Extract from a letter of our Minister at the Cour of the Sublime Porte:

LEGATION OF THE U. S. A.,

CONSTANTINOPLE, TURKEY.

DEAR SIR: The Cherry Pectoral received from you for the Sultan has been delivered to his Private Secretary at the palace, and you will doubtless hear from it in due season. That you were so kind as to send me, has been given to friends, who have in many cases found it exceedingly useful.

Yours, respectfully, GEO. P. MARSH,

Minister Plenipotentiary U. S. A. to Turkey.

*Dr. J. C. Ayer.*

Among the eminent Editors who testify to their personal experience and knowledge of the wonderful cures and immense success of the Cherry Pectoral in their sections, we may mention—

*Boughton & Co.*, Federal Union, Milledgeville, Ga.
*L. Patton*, Christian Advocate, Knoxville, Tenn.
*J. B. Dobson*, American Presbyterian, Greenville, Te.
*J. B. Samson*, Democrat, McConnellsburg, Pa.
*J. Russ, jr.*, Shelbyville News, Tenn.
*Harvey, McKenney, & Co.*, State Gazette, Burlington, Iowa.
*J. Knabb & Co.*, Journal, Reading, Pa.
*Raymond, Harper, & Co.*, New-York Times.
*S. Cobb*, Christian Freeman, Boston.
*Wm. B. Jacobs*, Christian Chronicle, Philad.
*Hon. J. Wentworth*, M. C., Democrat, Chicago, Ill.
*Rev. E. G. Reese*, Methodist Protestant, Baltimore.
*W. M. Wightman*, Christian Advocate, Charleston, S. C.
*J. M. Magennis*, True Delta, New Orleans.
*T. M. Donnell*, Daily News, Savannah, Ga.
*Geo. D. Prentice*, Louisville Journal, Ky.
*Hon. Schuyler Colfax*, M. C., South Bend Register, Indiana.
*A. Commings*, Christian Mirror, Portland, Me.
*M. H. Bartlett & Co.*, Republican, Hartford, Conn.
*Chaddick & Berry*, Banner of Peace, Lebanon, Ten.
*Thompson & Co.*, United Empire and Patriot, Toronto, C. W.
*Charles Cook*, Democrat, Danville, Pa.
*M. Hannum*, Democrat, Allentown, Pa.
*Sherman & Harron*, State Gazette, Trenton, N. J.
*Wright & Haven*, Prairie Farmer, Chicago, Ill.

These gentlemen have not only certified to these statements in their papers, to the public, but have sent me their personal letters, to the effect that they have found my preparation an article of great public utility.

Space will not admit full testimonials here, but the agent below named will furnish my American Almanac, gratis, to all who ask for it, wherein are full particulars, and indisputable proof of these statements.

**Prepared by J. C. AYER, Chemist, Lowell, Mass. Sold in Washington by Z. D. GILMAN, and by all Druggists and Dealers in Medicine everywhere.**

May 6—1angl

**GEORGE W. JULIAN,**

*Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Centreville, Indiana,*

WILL attend to the securing and collecting of claims, and all other business intrusted to his care, in the counties of Wayne, Randolph, Henry, Union, and Fayette, and in the Supreme and Federal Courts at Indianapolis. Dec. 22.

**Z. C. ROBBINS,**

**Mechanical Engineer and Solicitor of Patents, Washington, D. C.,**

WILL make Examinations at the Patent Office, prepare Drawings and Specifications, and prosecute Applications for Patents, both in the United States and foreign countries.

Applications for patents which have been *rejected* at the Patent Office, he will, when required, argue before the Commissioner of Patents, or before the Appellate Court; in which line of practice he has been successful in procuring a great number of very valuable patents.

He will prepare new specifications and claims for the re-issue of patents previously granted on imperfect descriptions and claims.

Applications for *extensions* of patents, either at the Patent Office, or before Congress, he will also vigorously prosecute.

Also, superintend the taking of testimony to be used in conflicting applications before the Patent Office, or to be read in court.

In all cases of litigation on the subject of patents, he will prepare the cases for the legal profession, explain the scientific and mechanical principles involved, and the application of the law thereto.

He will also give opinions and advice as to the value and validity of patents, and may be consulted in cases of infringements of patents, and all other matters pertaining to the patent laws and practice in the United States and Europe.

Also, prepare caveats, assignments, and all other papers required for securing or transferring patent property.

Having been ten years in the constant practice of his profession in this city, and having free access to the models and records in the Patent Office, as well as to its library, and the "Congressional Library," he flatters himself that he can in all cases give perfect satisfaction to those who may place business in his hands. March 29—eow

Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.

**CROCKER, McKUNE, & ROBINSON,**

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW. Office Nos. 24 and 25 in Read & Co.'s Post Office Building, Sacramento. April 1.

**ONE THOUSAND BOOK AGENTS AND COLPORTEURS WANTED,**

TO SELL

PROFESSOR *Weiss's Great History of the French Protestant Refugees*—(Dispersion of the Huguenots.)—This profoundly interesting and supremely valuable work is already celebrated throughout the civilized world. Its popular character, together with the national attractions it possesses, must cause it to be more universally read, even, than the celebrated "History of the Reformation," to which, (says Alison, in Blackwood,) "in spirit and treatment, it bears such strong resemblance, and with which it must become a favorite companion." The most eminent divines of every denomination have commended this thrilling narrative, in the most rapturous and emphatic terms, and all the renowned Reviews have pronounced it unqualifiedly the most rare production of modern times. This result of the able historian's twenty years' labor has been greeted with hearty approval by the most celebrated authors and scholars, such as D'Aubigne, Macaulay, Guizot, Mignet, Alison, &c., &c.

☞ 200 000 readers are desirous to secure a copy of this "most remarkable drama in the world's history," as a "family household treasure, in remembrance of these martyrs to religious liberty."

N. B. The most *liberal inducements* will be given, and inviting circulars will be furnished, containing testimonials from the most eminent divines and scholars, with opinions of the leading journals, of this extraordinary popular work. Apply to

STRINGER & TOWNSEND,

Publishers, No. 222 Broadway, New York.

May 6—4t

**THE NEW HYDROPATHIC FAMILY PHYSICIAN.**

A Medical Adviser and Ready Prescriber, with references to the Nature, Causes, Prevention, and Treatment, of Diseases, Accidents, and Casualties, of every kind; with a Glossary, Table of Contents, and Index; the whole Illustrated with nearly Three Hundred Engravings and Colored Frontispieces. By JOEL SHEW, M. D. One large Volume of 820 pages, substantially bound in library style. Published by FOWLERS & WELLS, 308 Broadway, New York. This great work contains:

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THE NEW HYDROPATHIC FAMILY PHYSICIAN is the most elaborate and complete popular work on the subject. Every family should have a copy.

Price, delivered free, or with postage prepaid by mail, only $2.50. The amount may be enclosed in a letter, and directed to FOWLERS & WELLS,

No. 308 Broadway, New York.

Agents wanted in all the States. May 29—2d2w

**Lays of Liberty;**

OR,

**VERSES FOR THE TIMES.**

THIS is the title of a small volume of choice Anti-Slavery verses, collected from various sources, and put into one little volume of fifty-four pages, handsomely printed, and bound in cloth. Published by BELA MARSH,

May 29. No. 9 Franklin street, Boston.

**THE CONFLICT OF AGES!**

BY DR. EDWARD BEECHER.

*This Remarkable Work has reached its Fifth Edition, in the brief space of Four Months! A success unprecedented in Theological Publications!*

AN impression has already been produced by this masterly treatise, the most profound, wide reaching, and permanent.

It is perfectly manifest to all competent observers, that we are upon the eve of a theological discussion, the most comprehensive, radical, and portentous, the world has ever seen. To this discussion this book leads the way, with a momentum irresistible. There is not a question in Theology which is not destined to come up for a new and thorough settlement in the light of this final development.

All those who have Theological doubts and difficulties should examine the solution this work affords.

Those who have no doubts, but who wish to study the history of opinions in the past, and to keep pace with the developments of opinion in the future, will grievously err if they neglect to make themselves familiar with this book. It contains the seeds of the thinkings and debatings of the next hundred years.

The reception of this work by the Theological press of the country, has been significant. Equally declining to accept his conclusion, they do it on opposite and contradictory grounds. One half of the Theological press endorses the major premise of the argument, and denies the minor. The other half endorses the minor, and denies the major. And as they are probably both right in their positive element, and wrong in their negative, the work has received a Virtual Endorsement of the most powerful kind.

As regards the ability of the work, and its claims on the attention of all, the following extracts may suffice:

*From the Princeton Repertory—Old School Orthodox.*

It is characterized by great ability, by an earnest spirit, by frankness, candor, and courtesy. It has a special interest for us. WE HAIL IT AS AN ALLY. The author shuts his readers up to the choice between Orthodoxy and the doctrine of Pre-Existence.

*From the Universalist Quarterly and General Review, Jan., 1854.*

We have the novel spectacle of a man clinging with a masterly grasp to all the fundamentals of Orthodoxy, * * * yet dealing it a blow beneath which it reels.

It would be difficult to find within the limits of a hundred pages any treatise or essay that can compare in importance with this analysis (B. iv) of Orthodox doctrines. Dr. Beecher has struck upon the right principle in his theory of typical interpretation, in the fifth of Romans.

*From the Methodist Quarterly Review.*

The profoundest questions of Theology are taking hold of the American mind. The "Conflict of Ages" is an earnest exposition of the great problem of Theology, by an earnest man, who feels and thinks strongly. The book is very able in many respects.

*From the Bibliotheca Sacra, Andover, Orthodox, New School.*

This volume is the fruit of original investigation. Every page of it bears the impress of a mind that thinks for itself. * * * The book will be read in future time; and as it contains much which a lover of truth will commend, as well as much which he will condemn, it calls for some addition to the great labor which has already been expended upon it.

The same periodical advises the preparation of an index.

*From the Baptist Christian Review, Hartford.*

The problem proposed for discussion is the most difficult and momentous that can engage the human mind. * * * * He considers, in detail, all the moral and theological solutions that have been attempted in all ages, by the ancients and by the moderns, * * * and rejects the whole without hesitation or remorse.

*Christian Examiner, (Unitarian.)*

We should trespass on the patience of our readers, if we presumed here to give our views upon the startling, yes, the appalling exhibition, which Dr. B. has made of the Orthodox System.

*Boston Congregationalist.*

If Universalists and Unitarians will read the work candidly, it must have a powerful tendency to draw them off the slippery rock on which they stand.

*Christian Examiner.*

How much anxiety which the book will cause to the Orthodox may be allowed to transpire publicly, we cannot say; for policy may dictate reserve; but in private there must be a frequent repetition of the question, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?"

*From the Boston Congregationalist.*

Pugh! "Henpen, the sky is falling." "Who told you, Chicklick?" "I went down into the garden, *and a currant fell on my head!*"

*From the Christian Examiner.*

The word "Pugh" is easily spoken. We consider the book as so manifestly destined to re-open, in the most effective way, our whole controversy, and, in the long result, to win such a triumph for our general views of the doctrines of the Bible, that we would give our vote to a proposition that one-half the whole sum of fifty thousand dollars which the Unitarians are about to raise for the circulation of their books, should be spent in the dissemination of this volume.

*From the Unitarian Monthly Religious Magazine, Edited by Rev. Mr. Huntington.*

Dr. Beecher's theory acts with most logical force against Orthodoxy, with most spiritual force against Unitarianism. Those apostles of lax notions respecting man's sinfulness and need of regeneration, who have hastened to greet this volume as an ally to their cause, will be subject to a disappointment. * * Whoever undertakes to answer the general argument, except perhaps from the ground of extreme Pelagianism, will find room for the exercise of his best faculties.

The fate of this book will be singular. Sold, read, admired, discussed, abused, plundered from, laughed at, to as full a measure as the most ambitious writer could desire.

*National Era.*

This work has caused a great commotion among the D. D.'s in our land. It merits their attention.

*N. Y. Tribune.*

The most significant work on Theology which has appeared of late.

In many respects, this volume is one of the most curious, as well as one of the most suggestive, productions of modern American Theology.

*Philadelphia Presbyterian Quarterly, New School.*

Able it unquestionably is.

*Westminster Review, England.*

The "Conflict of Ages" is, in effect, a protest against Calvinism by one of the leading Calvinistic divines of New England.

*Boston Congregationalist.*

A very unsafe book for heresiarchs to put into the hands of either Universalist or Unitarian of real and manly mind, accustomed to deep and serious thought. Whatever else he may be or may not be, he will never be either an ancient Socinian or a modern Universalist

*The New Englander.*

The book itself, in its compressed thought, its vigorous diction, and admirable arrangement of topics, is a valuable illustration of the advantages which are gained by patient labor. * * * We have never yet seen this sketch surpassed (Book iv, Historical Outline) for its breadth and accuracy, by any history of doctrine; and we think that few pages have been penned in any department of literature, by American authors, which deserve to be read more attentively, or which display such extensive and thorough learning, or such clear, candid, and accurate statements, in the briefest compass. The careful perusal of the Fourth Book would convey more profitable information in Ecclesiastical History, than is acquired by many students in their entire theological course.

Similar testimonials could be multiplied indefinitely. Indeed, the amount of matter already printed, in the form of reviews, criticisms, replies, &c., would form several volumes of the size of the book itself. Its publication must constitute an era in the world's thought. Whoever does not wish to be behind the age must read the "Conflict of Ages."

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON, & CO.,

Publishers.

⁂ For sale by all Booksellers. May 26.